



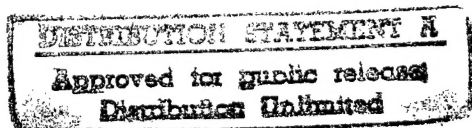
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Near East & South Asia

INDIA

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Near East & South Asia

INDIA

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23 September 1992

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International Affairs

Papers Report Pawar Visit to Beijing

Talks With Defense Minister

92AS1412A Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Jul 92 p 1

[Article: "Talks With Chinese a Step Forward: Pawar"]

[Text] Beijing, July 25. The Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, today held more than two hours of talks with the Chinese State Councillor and Defence Minister, Gen. Qin Jiwei and said the parleys had "helped create mutual understanding and represent a useful step forward."

Mr. Pawar, the first Indian Defence Minister to visit China, said the talks would give an impetus to the ongoing exchanges at the official level.

The joint working group on the border would meet in October and set the definitive line of approach beneficial to both sides, he said.

The wide-ranging talks with Gen. Qin this afternoon were held in a "friendly atmosphere" and covered international, regional and bilateral issues, Mr. Pawar said, but refused to elaborate.

Mr. Pawar described both sides' approach as positive and sincere. China's current thrust was on economic upliftment and this was the current Indian thinking too, he said.

To a question, he said the two sides conveyed each other's thinking on the question of international arms transfers.

He dismissed recent reports that India intended to seek Chinese arms.

Mr. Pawar invited Gen. Qin to visit India. The Chinese Minister accepted the invitation with pleasure but no dates for the visit were fixed today, officials said. The invitation to the Deputy Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), Gen. Xu Xin, was also renewed and he is expected to make the visit in the near future, they said.

The two Ministers earlier inspected a ceremonial guard of honour presented by the three services of the PLA at the Central Military Museum quadrangle.

He was assisted at the talks by the Defence Secretary, Mr. N. N. Vohra, the Ambassador, Mr. Salman Haidar, Lt. Gen. B. C. Joshi, GOC [General Officer Commanding], Southern Command, Vice-Admiral, K.A.S.Z. Raju, Flag Officer Commanding, Southern Naval Command, Air Marshal B. D. Dayal, Air Officer Commanding, South Western Air Command, the Joint Secretary, Mr. Shivshankar Menon, and the Counsellor, Mr. B. Jaishankar.—PTI.

Talks With Li Peng

92AS1412B Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Jul 92 p 1

[Article: "Talks Only Way, Pawar Tells Li"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Beijing, July 26. The Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar today called on the Chinese Premier, Mr. Li Peng

and said the ongoing Sino-Indian dialogue to resolve bilateral issues was an "irreversible" process.

India was sincere about it and wanted peace on the borders, he told Mr. Li during the nearly hour-long meeting at Ginhuangdao, a port city about 180 km north-east of Beijing.

Mr. Pawar and senior Indian officials were flown out to Shanhaiguan, where the great wall meets the sea and taken to Ginhuangdao, which is adjacent to the beach resort of Beidaihe where Chinese leaders hold brainstorming sessions about once a year.

On his return here this evening, Mr. Pawar described his meeting with Mr. Li as cordial.

He said he was told by Mr. Li that China's own overall approach was one of ensuring internal stability and peaceful borders as well as of keeping the thrust on economic reforms.

Mr. Li said from his talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, he discerned the same line of thinking in the Indian side.

The two sides would definitely be able to work together, Mr. Li said, expressing satisfaction with the work of the joint working group on the border.

Views on fundamentalism: Both sides explained each other's perception of the global and regional situations and in this context, Mr. Pawar said he explained to the Chinese Premier his views on religious fundamentalism.

Mr. Pawar told Mr. Li that while there was no global tension at present, there were regional tensions and one reason for these was fundamentalism.

India being a secular country, wants to keep away from such processes, Mr. Pawar stressed.

The Chinese Premier spoke of his preoccupation with the ensuing 14th congress of the Communist Party which should set the firm direction of economic reforms and the policy of further opening to the outside world.

Mr. Li renewed his invitation to the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao to visit China and Mr. Pawar extended an invitation to the Vice-Premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, who is principally in charge of boosting reforms in economy and trade.

Mr. Zhu, who used to be mayor of the eastern industrial city Shanghai, was promoted to Vice-Premiership early last year and has since assumed increasing responsibility for reforms, especially the overhaul of debt-ridden State enterprises.

Accompanying Mr. Pawar to Ginhuangdao were the Defence Secretary, Mr. N. N. Vohra, Ambassador, Mr. Salman Haider, Joint Secretary, Mr. Shiv Shankar Menon and counsellor, Mr. B. Jaishankar.

Mr. Li was assisted during the meeting by Mr. Pawar's host, State Councillor and Defence Minister General, Mr. Qin Jiwei and Deputy Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army, Gen. Xu Xin.

Mr. Pawar was hosted a banquet at the famous Beijing Roast Duck restaurant this evening by Chief of General Staff, Gen. Chi Haotian—PTI.

Departure From Beijing

92AS1412C Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
29 Jul 92 p 15

[Article: "China Visit Useful, Says Pawar"]

[Text] Beijing, July 29 (PTI). The defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, today ended the Beijing leg of his official trip to China, saying it was a "useful visit" and he expected further friendly contacts between the armed forces of the two countries.

"This will help to assure peace and tranquility on our border," Mr. Pawar said before leaving for Shanghai where he will spend two days as guest of the garrison commander.

Mr. Pawar said he was happy over his meeting with the Chinese Premier, Mr. Li Peng, and referred to "extensive discussions" he had with his counterpart, General Qin Jiwei, as well as meetings with senior Chinese military officers.

"A number of high-level meetings in recent months have strengthened our mutual understanding and co-operation," he said.

At a farewell meeting today, Gen. Qin said the first ever Indian defence ministerial visit to China was "highly beneficial" to enhance mutual understanding.

Mr. Pawar as well as Gen. Qin said there would be more contacts between the defence establishments of the two countries.

Mr. Pawar reiterated his invitation to Gen. Qin to visit India. The Chinese defence minister asked his counterpart to visit China again to see some other parts.

Last night the ambassador, Mr. Salman Haidar, hosted a banquet which was attended by Mr. Pawar, Gen. Qin and senior officials from the two sides.

Mr. Pawar is accompanied by the defence secretary, Mr. N. N. Vohra, and Lt. Gen. B. C. Joshi, GOC southern command, among others.

Kuwait Asks for Support Against Iraq

Message Delivered

92AS1391A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
28 Jul 92 p 18

[Text] New Delhi, 27 July: Kuwait has sought India's support to persuade Iraq to implement the U.N. security council resolutions regarding the border and the safe return of at least 850 prisoners of war (PoWs) who are still being held in Iraq.

The request was conveyed to the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, when the special envoy of the Emir of Kuwait, Dr. Badar Ali Yaquob, called on him today. While thanking India for its support, the special

envoy said Kuwait was looking forward to its continuance. The Emir himself had expressed a desire to visit India at a later date.

Dr. Yaquob said Kuwait was a little apprehensive about the recent statements of Mr. Saddam Hussain who is reported to have said that the "mother of all battles" was yet to come. He said this clearly indicated that Iraq had some aggressive designs. He sought India's support in meeting this threat.

The special envoy also called on the minister for information and broadcasting, Mr. Ajit Kumar Panja, and signed an agreement on information co-operation. This will include exchanges of audio-visual programmes and mediapersons.

A spokesman of the ministry of external affairs said Kuwait had agreed to set up an information centre here and the details were being worked out.

Official Clarifies Message

92AS1391B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 30 Jul 92 p 9

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 29 July: India today denied a report that Kuwait wanted New Delhi to mediate in its long-standing border dispute with Iraq.

An official spokesman said "no such request or suggestion was made by the Kuwaiti Government." The special message from the Kuwait ruler, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah to the Prime Minister was regarding non-compliance by the Iraqi Government of the U.N. resolution on the border issue. The spokesman said it was incorrect to say that Kuwait had not appreciated our stand.

During the talks with the special envoy of the Amir, Mr. Badr-al-Yaqoub, Indian leaders made it clear that "India firmly believes in the sanctity of the U.N. resolutions."

The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao had told Dr. Yaquob fully subscribed to the U.N. resolution and it invariably adhered to and strictly complied with such resolutions.

The Prime Minister also conveyed to the special emissary that India would do everything possible in the United Nations Security Council to ensure that the resolutions were fully implemented.

He said the special envoy was fully satisfied with the Indian stand and approach.

UNHCR to be associated: India has agreed to associate the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with the voluntary repatriation of about 100,000 Sri Lankan refugees from their camps in Tamil Nadu and Orissa, the spokesman said. There had been an exchange of letter between India's Permanent Representative to the U.N. Mission at Geneva and the UNHCR.

The understanding with the UNHCR was based on India's firm commitment to the principles and values of the U.N. and its consistent cooperation with various organisations and activities of the world body.

Analysts View PRC-Pakistan Military Ties

92AS1383A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
20 Jul 92 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, 19 July: The close military ties between China and Pakistan, a potential threat to India's security concerns, has resulted in the development of a jet-trainer aircraft which can also function as a light ground attack aircraft, defence analysts here say, reports PTI.

The aircraft, K-8, named after the Karakoram mountain range forming part of the China-Pakistan border, was expected to complete flight testing by the end of 1992 and the Pakistan Air Force hoped to induct them in 1993, they said.

China's policies of arms transfers to India's neighbours continued to be a source of security concern for India, analysts at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses said.

Pakistan, which was almost 70 percent of its military assets supplied by China, had entered into a 10-year memorandum of understanding for cooperation with Beijing in the field of military procurement, research and development, technology transfer and co-production, they said.

Since the 1965 Pakistani aggression on India, China had been the most reliable military supplier for Pakistan, providing tanks, aircraft, warships and missiles, they added.

Besides Pakistan, China has emerged as a major supplier of arms to India's neighbours such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Nepal.

The latest Sino-Pak joint venture, K-8 jet trainer, made its global debut at the Asian Aerospace Show in Singapore in February, 1992. It is a cooperative venture between China Nanchang Aircraft Manufacturing Company [CNAMC], Pakistan Aeronautical Complex [PAC] and China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Company.

The K-8 was designed and built entirely by the CNAMC, with the PAC providing a team of resident engineers and sharing the development funding, which was almost 25 percent.

Low-rate batch production started earlier this year and CNAMC expects to finish six aircraft by the end of 1992, with the rate accelerating to 15 to 20 per year in 1993, says the latest issue of "Flight International."

Experts say the K-8 uses an American-produced engine, with other Western components with the intention of capturing significant export orders. It also features Western flight instrument displays and ejection seats.

The aircraft has five external stores stations and can carry a single 23 mm gun pod, plus two 250-litre drop tanks or up to four 50 kg. bombs plus two multiple rocket launchers. Alternatively, the trainer could carry two 250 kg BL-755 bombs or two PL-7 air-to-air missiles, they said.

China's foray into the arms business is relatively new, analysts said. During the 1950s and 1960s, China supplied military equipment and logistic support to many Third World countries.

They said nine factors had contributed to China's arms exports policy. They are ideological, strategic, monetary considerations, arms demands, absence of political inhibitions, weapons development, battle-testing of weapons, intelligence and modernization process and the disposal of old and surplus weapons.

Analysts said ideological consideration was one of the important factors responsible for Chinese arms exports when it provided arms to various insurgent groups and Socialist countries, usually free of charge.

The strategic factor has persistently determined China's arms exports as evident from exports to Pakistan, North Korea and Vietnam. This was directed at achieving strategic goals vis-a-vis India, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The next goal of arms exports was financial. This seems to have become the primary force behind China's arms transfers whereby they hoped to improve their balance of trade as well as operate their military and industrial infrastructure, they said.

Another factor was the ongoing conflicts in different parts of the world and the subsequent demand for arms.

The Chinese exploited this vista quickly. Whenever the super-powers or the Western powers were unwilling or unable to meet the arms needs of any country, the Chinese stepped in, they said.

Official Quoted on Ties To European Community

92AS1375A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
11 Jul 92 p 5

[Text] Strasbourg, 10 July: India will try to build a "special relationship" with the European Community during the six-month British presidency which assumed office on 1 July, reports IPS.

But the British Government, which has pledged to revise the E.C. relations with Pakistan and the six-nation Association of South-East Asian nations, will have to be very diplomatic to balance the new deals.

An Indian official attending this week's Strasbourg plenary session of the European Parliament said his Government was seeking something beyond the "third generation agreements" recently entered into with a number of developing countries and the "Europe agreements" drawn up with several East and Central European nations.

"We want it to be a model for North-South relations," he said, adding, "It is the right time for a new agreement. The Cold War had ended. There are major adjustments and India is going through major economic adjustments."

India's cooperation pact with the E.C. dates back to 1964. It benefits from the traditional development aid from the

E.C. and trade preferences in the E.C. market under the generalized system of preferences (GSP) for the least developed countries.

Addressing the European Parliament's development committee recently, India's Ambassador, Mr. Arjun Sengupta, said the new agreement should reinforce traditional cooperation, including improved GSP access, promotion of science and technology, assistance to agriculture, irrigation and fisheries, whilst seeking new ideas.

Mr. Sengupta pointed out that the 850 million inhabitants of India receive the lowest level of assistance in the world on a per capita basis of external help has contributed to no more than eight to ten percent of the total investment so far.

The Indian official said the new cooperation pact should not only be a symbol of closer cooperation, but should enable the Indian economy to advance.

In his recent speech here, he told the European deputies that India was not just "another developing country, but a special case."

"We have not yet reached the level of income of the tigers of the far-east, but we are capable of achieving similar results on a continental scale," Mr. Sengupta said.

He painted a rosy picture for the Indian economy as only eight core segments of the industry are now in the hands of the public sector. Everything else—power, telecommunications and transport—has been thrown open and the regime of industrial licensing completely liberalized.

Mr. Sengupta told the European deputies that the Indian rupee had been made partly convertible. With this move, India hopes to receive \$2 billion in foreign investment over the next year, he added.

"As Asia grows, India will become a more closely integrated market with an enormous potential for profitable trade and investment comparable to Southeast Asia, the Pacific or the Persian Gulf," Mr. Sengupta informed the deputies, who will eventually be asked to approve a new agreement and to support something special for India.

Indian officials are presently exploring several areas of cooperation to ensure the new relationship. In addition to improved trade preferences, the official proposed improved political dialogue and cooperation in combating the drug trade.

India is one of only a handful of developing countries which meet the E.C. annually to discuss common political interests.

The official predicted a closer political cooperation with Myanmar and Fiji. As far as the E.C. a clause on the protection of human rights will be a certain condition for a cooperation agreement with India or any other developing nation, he said.

Now a traditional feature of "third generation agreements" concluded with many Latin American countries, the implementation of the cooperation agreement hinges on the respect for democratic and human rights.

Amnesty International has cited 415 cases. We regret the occurrence of even a single case, but one must not lose a sense of proportion," he added.

Chinese Students Said Escaping Through India *92AS1390A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English* 20 Jul 92 p 3

[Text] New Delhi, 19 July: The police have discovered what appears to be a massive, illegal use of India as a staging post for Chinese students escaping their country for the West.

Four Chinese students with forged passports and forged visas for entry to the United States have been arrested. Two of the racket organisers, a Chinese and a Tibetan, have also been nabbed.

The police believe this is only the first lot of discoveries. The interrogation of those arrested indicate thousands more Chinese students waiting in Nepal to cross over here, said an official. These four came to India three months back via Nepal, he said. The racket appears to have taken strong shape after the 1989 crackdown on anti-Communist protests in China. How many have used India to escape to the West since then is unclear; the police believe quite a few must have.

Japanese Envoy Speaks on Economic Cooperation *93AS1411A Madras THE HINDU in English* 23 Jul 92 p 24

[Article: "Delicate Political Issues in Success of Reform"]

[Text] Mr. Shunki Kobayashi, Japanese Ambassador to India, dealt with Indo-Japanese economic cooperation in the context of India's liberalisation programme in a talk at the Confederation of Indian Industry (Southern Region) in Madras on July 9. Excerpts from his address.

Towards the end of March last year, I had the privilege to address a joint meeting of Hindustan Chamber of Commerce and Indo-Japan Centre in Madras. I ventured in my speech to refer to India's declining position not only in the external economic relations of Japan but also in the world economy as a whole. I went on the predict that the worsening international payments crisis might make it inevitable and also politically more feasible for India to introduce basic reforms in the country's economic management. The dramatic changes that we witnessed during the past one year are not confined to India, but on this occasion I wish to review the developments that have taken place in the economic scene in India, to examine the present situation and to look into the immediate future.

In July 1991, the government of India introduced a series of economic reforms intended to liberate the economy from the tight grip of the decades-old central control and to integrate it with the global economy. Obviously, what made these reform measures inevitable was the worst balance-of-payments crisis that India had ever experienced.

At least three factors may be cited as having precipitated the crisis. They are the impact on the Indian economy of

the collapse of the Soviet Union, the effects of the Gulf War, and finally, the structural weaknesses inherent in the Indian economy.

Japan's response

In May-June 1991, the Japanese Government extended to India two loans totalling \$300 millions in quick succession. These loans were made available in response to the urgent request made by the Indian Government for quickly disbursable emergency loans that were indispensable to cope with the critical depletion of India's foreign exchange reserves and to avoid defaulting for the first time in its post-independence history. Accordingly, the entire amount of the loans was paid into the coffers of the Indian Government within a matter of weeks, providing effective relief that enabled India to tide over the most difficult moments.

Since 1990, the total annual commitment under Japan's development loan programme for India has been in excess of 100 billion yen. Besides India, only China and Indonesia are currently receiving more than 100 billion yen in soft loans from Japan on an annual commitment basis. In the case of India, it was after the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, officially visiting Tokyo, reaffirmed his Government's intention to introduce greater liberalisation in industrial policy and expressed his desire to facilitate private investment from Japan, that Japanese aid to India approached this level. Thus, as far as development assistance is concerned, Japan has long been demonstrating active support to India's intention and efforts to restructure and vitalise its economy.

Emerging investment opportunities

The economic reform now under way places emphasis on greatly accelerated introduction of foreign private investment. The main actors being private investors, the role that may be played by the Japanese Government in this regard cannot be anything more than promotional. Nevertheless, it is willing to play its part whenever it can usefully do so. The visit to India, last January, of the Government-organised economic mission comprising a large number of business leaders was one such instance.

As I have mentioned, the ultimate response to the initiative taken by the Indian Government to promote foreign direct investment in India has to come from the foreign private sector. As far as Japan is concerned, we note signs of growing interest on the part of the Japanese business community in new investment opportunities emerging in India. This is reflected in the remarkable increase in the business-related flow of people both ways as well as active inquiries, talks and negotiations being conducted among business establishments in the two countries.

There are some relevant statistical data available that may be interpreted to be indicative of the trend. In the country-wise list of amounts of equity participation approved during 1991, Japan takes the third place after the United States and the Netherlands. While all the countries listed registered remarkable increase over the corresponding

figures in the previous year and the United States maintains the first place by a large margin, Japan jumped from the ninth to the third place, registering the highest rate of increase from the previous year. In the first two months of this year, Japan further advanced to take the second place after the United States although the margin continues to be substantial.

However, it appears premature at this stage to determine the ultimate response of Japanese industry to the new liberalised economic policy in India.

It is obvious to all rational-minded people with minimum knowledge of the principles of economics that there is no option but to actively promote private investment, both domestic and foreign, if India were to extricate itself from a high-cost and low-productivity economy.

However, this is easier said than done. At least two constraints or limitations come to my mind immediately. One is the financial constraints arising from the budgetary and balance of payments deficits.

Deep-rooted xenophobia

The second constraint is mental and therefore often political. No doubt this is an extremely delicate issue and it seems to me that it is therefore even more difficult to cope with. It is the xenophobia that is deep-rooted in the Indian mind. It is the sense of weakness, suspicion, and fear vis-a-vis large-scale foreign business establishments, often referred to as multinationals. It is the fear of domination by foreign private capital.

It is explained that this mind-set permeating the Indian psyche is a result of India's long and bitter experience under the British rule. If that is the case, it is understandable. But it is now half a century since India gained independence. If India is still obsessed with such a mentality, there must be some additional reasons.

It is probably its failure to fully strengthen its national economy in all these years. In other words, the fact that the Indian economy remains structurally fragile almost five decades after independence may be behind the continued lack of confidence. Yet, if such a mentality serves as an impediment to more outward-looking economic management, crucial for dynamic growth, then this is a vicious circle. The vicious circle has to be broken somewhere, if the country were to make real progress towards prosperity, keeping pace with the rapid developments taking place in other parts of Asia.

The Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, said in his Budget speech earlier this year that while concern was sometimes expressed that the policy of welcoming foreign investment would hurt Indian industry and might jeopardise India's sovereignty, these fears were misplaced. He then went on to say, "We must not remain permanent captives of a fear of the East India Company, as if nothing has changed in the past 300 years!" It is obvious that the Finance Minister shares the same concern.

I have already mentioned that to all rational-minded people, it is clear that the only solution to India's economic

problems is to strengthen the domestic manufacturing industry through greater competition introduced by greater liberalisation. Yet how often we come across the outbursts of an emotional reaction to this plain fact which stem from that obsessions.

The primary reason why this mind-set is a crucial factor that could constrain the furtherance of economic reforms, is the fact that it provides opponents of reforms with an effective means to create political difficulties for the implementation of the reform programmes, deterring its acceleration.

Resistance from labour

The greatest challenge for the Government in the next phase of economic reforms appears to be the resistance from the organised labour. A successful implementation of reforms would eventually bring about vastly increased job opportunities through accelerated investment and would thus greatly benefit the country's workforce. Nevertheless, notably in the process of revitalisation of the public sector, involving disinvestment, privatisation and the closure of perennially sick units, the reforms could give rise to some dislocation of workers who may not be immediately absorbed elsewhere. Also, the revision of labour-related laws, essential for further promotion of investment, is likely to meet with stiff resistance from organised labour.

Combined with such resistance, the xenophobic sentiment I have mentioned may create a formidable political issue that will require highly discreet handling.

In my speech here in March last year, I pointed out that once a system is established in a country, it gives rise to the emergence of segments of the society benefiting from the system and they invariably become supporters of the system, resisting whatever changes may be proposed, if those are likely to affect their interest adversely. It is easy to appreciate what a gigantic task it is to undertake the structural reform of a system established in a huge country like India, since the number of people directly affected by such reform is so very large. Organised labour is one of the groups of such people.

Careful balancing of factors

During the last one year since it came to power, the Government has made substantial progress under its economic reform policy. Nevertheless so much remains to be done before the reforms produce the desired results and yet the remaining tasks involve a host of politically delicate and exacting issues. The need to carefully balance various factors is obvious but I only hope that in the long-term interest of the country the Government will not slacken its pace of reforms. The popular will as reflected by the elections held during the last twelve months seems to me favour the Government's reform endeavours.

Internal Affairs

Text of President Sharma's Inauguration Speech

92AS1408A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 26 Jul 92 p 6

[Article: "Great Causes Make Great Demands"; boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, July 25. The following is the text of the speech by Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma on his assumption of office as the President.

Respected Shri R. Venkataramanji, Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, Hon'ble Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Shivraj Patil, Hon'ble Chief Justice of India, Shri Justice M. H. Kania, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Dr. (Shrimati) Najma Heptulla, Hon'ble Members of Parliament, respected freedom fighters, excellencies and fellow-citizens.

On having entered upon the office of the President of our republic, I stand before you, in all humility, overwhelmed with gratitude for the honour done to me in electing me to a position graced by such illustrious personages as Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Dr. Zakir Hussain. The stalwarts who have preceded me devoted their great personal qualities to national well-being striving with utmost dedication to perform the role assigned in our polity to the constitutional Head of State.

My mind is filled with thoughts of the Father of our Nation Mahatma Gandhi and the great national leaders, martyrs and freedom fighters whose suffering and sacrifices made freedom possible and helped build our country's system of parliamentary democracy.

May I say that I shall endeavour to do all I may in keeping with the oath, I have had the honour to make the subscribe to serve our nation in a manner as would befit an occupant of this office.

Cause for introspection: I have given expression to these thoughts after some deliberation aware that there is cause for introspection also by all who wish to take this great country forward—all who yearn to see an India as a land of peace, harmony, prosperity and social justice: a strong united nation wedded to the rule of law drawing sustenance from ethical and moral values and capable thus to overcoming the challenges of terrorism, communal feeling and caste and gender oppression of poverty, ignorance and disease.

"We are in the fiftieth year after the Quit India movement of 1942 and memories flood my mind of the idealism, courage and determination with which the great struggle was waged.

"We have to safeguard freedom and the gains of freedom. Let us remember that freedom has little meaning without equality and equality has little meaning without social and economic justice.

"During my term in office I hope and pray that I would witness the needs and concerns of the people being ministered to and a much better quality of life materialising,

particularly in the rural areas where for many, each day is filled with worry about livelihood, sustenance and security."

And as we strive for national reconstruction the vision of great leaders in our history is with us: of India's role in the comity of nations. On August 14, 1947 speaking in the Constituent Assembly in the emerging moments of independent India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said: "We have to labour and to do work to give reality to our dreams."

Those dreams are also for the world for all the nations and the peoples. Peace has been said to be indivisible: so is freedom, so is prosperity now and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

Ethos of secularism: Fellow citizens, our ethos of secularism—equal respect for all religions—involving a concept and a way of life which every Indian should naturally understand, ought to guide us every day in our individual growth and social inter-action as a time-tested approach for the attainment of our cherished goals.

Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore in an essay on the vision of India had been moved to say: "I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons."

"Over fifty centuries ago in the Prithvi Sukta in the Atharva Veda, we find a magnificent manifestation on our secular outlook: (the earth which support diverse people of various persuasions and temperaments, as in a peaceful home, may it benefit all of us)."

The Yajurveda states: (May we look on one another with the eyes of a friend).

The Bhagwad Gita states: (In whatever way men identify with me in the same way do I carry out their desires: men pursue my path. Partha, in all ways).

Buddhist thought: "An exquisite expression of secular dictates, stemming from Buddhist thought may be secured from edict-xii of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka:" "One who reverses one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and glorify it over all other religions does injure one's own religion most certainly."

The Jain spiritual and intellectual tradition of universal love towards all living things, compassion and service, augments such a view. The immortal work. Thirukkural by the saint Thiruvalluvar, similarly commends an outlook of pluralism and oneness.

"India received the light of Christianity as early as 52 A.D. When St. Thomas, the apostle, preached the gospel in Kerala. This was centuries before Christianity reached Europe."

"Some years ago, I had occasion personally to tend upon Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan-Badshah Khan, the heroic champion of freedom, non-violence and peace, who had a profound understanding of Islam." He used to say: "I do not have to learn secularism from Gandhiji, I gained knowledge of secularism from the Qur'aan Sharief." His view in this respect coincided beautifully with the brilliant interpretation by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad in *Tariqman Al Qur'aan* and in his other writings.

"The philosophy of Sikhism provides a superlative example of secular thought. Should all in India not bear in mind a verse composed by Guru Gobind Singh:" ("Mandir or Mosque, Puja or Namaz, Puran or Qur'aan have no difference. All human beings are equal and manifestations of same").

Oneness: "The appreciation by citizens of the oneness of the inner doctrine of all religions is essential as much for national well-being, as for the value of the contribution India can make to global understanding, peace and progress." Dr. Zakir Husain had once said: "We want peace between the individual and groups within nations. These are all vitally interdependent. If the spirit of the sermon on the mount, Buddha's philosophy of compassion, the Hindu concept of ahimsa, and the passion of Islam for obedience to the will of God can combine, then we should succeed in generating the most potent influence for world peace."

At this moment I am aware, more than ever, that all of us, fellow citizens, have a great cause to serve. Great causes make great demands on the human spirit, we shall certainly illumine for the world the path to synthesis, harmony, peace and prosperity, and thus, indeed, be able to interpret the human spirit to all humankind.

"I pray that the almighty gives me the strength and wisdom to dedicate myself in the spirit of service for the proper fulfilment of my duties and responsibilities: and that our nation advances from strength to strength, true to the genius and heritage of our people, for a better world, a better future, for all Jai hind."—PTI.

Ghising Renews Offensive Against Marxists

Gorkha 21 Jul Meeting

92AS1403A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
22 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by Keshav Pradhan: "Anti-Accord Protest Today; Ghising Renews Offensive on Marxists"]

[Text] Darjeeling, July 21: For the first time since the signing of the Darjeeling accord four years ago, the GNLF [Gurkha National Liberation Front] supremo, Mr. Subhas Ghising, today trained his guns at Bengali politicians and Marxist supporters. He publicly appealed to the hill people to burn copies of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act as a symbolic protest against what he described as the betrayal of the Gorkhas' trust by state leaders.

In a scathing attack interspersed with hilarious remarks, the GNLF chief at a public meeting said: "Bengali leaders have been insensitive even after they failed to play their

role sincerely in running the council. The reason is they see red everywhere." He added "In the holy land of Goddess Kali, Marx and the red flag are very incongruous. This is why West Bengal is bankrupt today. Bengalis should know that the red flag will not take them to heaven. Even dogs cannot tolerate that colour."

On the contrary, he praised the Bihar chief minister, Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav, for his farsight and statesmanship in forming a more efficient autonomous council for the Jharkhandis. He said "unfortunately, Bengalis have a dearth of good politicians. There has been no leader of high calibre after the late B. C. Roy."

During his 80-minute speech, Mr. Ghising, who rarely appears in public these days, frequently reminded the crowd, which braved the heavy downpour, that the Gorkhas' original demand was "separation from Bengal and formation of a separate Gorkhaland. When we asked for Gorkhaland, Mr. Jyoti Basu could not sleep for days. He and his government killed hundreds of our innocent people. But can anyone tell us how many Bengalis died for the creation of Bengal? We have yet to settle our accounts."

Even as his fans cheered him several times during his address, Mr. Ghising, who returned here from New Delhi on Sunday, spoke at length about how the state government "killed" its own baby (the council) by passing an Act full of loopholes and by withholding the councils' funds. "The ill-intentioned state government chose to ignore the report on the council's proceedings sent to it by the general council last month when several council departments were wound up."

Although Mr. Ghising did not spell out what he and his organisation have planned to do after tomorrow's protest, he clearly told his supporters, who shouted "We want Gorkhaland, long live Gorkhaland" prior to his arrival to be restrained and not to go in for any confrontation with the administration tomorrow.

He also dispelled rumours that Mr. Jyoti Basu's effigies would be burnt along with copies of the Act by saying "we will not gain anything by burning the chief minister's effigies."

In a remarkable announcement he declares that from now the birth anniversary of Bhanu Bhakta Acharya will not be observed. He described Bhanu Bhakta as an "imported poet."

Instead, the Darjeeling-born Agam Singh Giri's lifesize statues will be installed to honour him as a Gorkha poet in place of the Nepali-born bard whose bust was vandalised here recently, he said.

The other speakers, including the GNLf MP [member of Parliament] from Darjeeling, Mr. Narendra Kumar Kumai, the Gorkha National Women's organisation president, Ms. Hema Lama, and the GNLf secretary-general, Mr. Keshab Lama, who described Mr. Ghising as "Gorkhas' raja" also made scathing attacks on the state government as the Nepali protagonists.

At one point Mr. Ghising even described the Centre's move to recognise the Nepali language as an anti-national act and warned that if required his party would file a suit in the Supreme Court to challenge inclusion of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

Meanwhile, the GNLf distributed copies of the council Act among its supporters to carry out its protest programmes throughout the hills tomorrow. The party has raised objection mainly to the later part of the Act.

The GNLf-run council has resented the way the state government directly sought utilisation certificates from the chairman. During his speech Mr. Ghising described the state government's attempts to seek a report on the council's account from him as "the work of great fools."

The superintendent of police, Mr. Vagesh Mishra, said security arrangements for tomorrow's programme would be normal but they were ready to meet any eventuality.

Hill Act Copies Burned

92AS1403B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
23 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by Keshav Pradhan: "GNLf Burns Hill Act Amid Fanfare"]

[Text] Darjeeling, July 22: Amid slogans of "Bengal is our graveyard" and "We want Gorkhaland," GNLf [Gurkha National Liberation Front] activists today burnt copies of the Darjeeling Hill Council Act with fanfare at numerous places in spite of inclement weather in the hills throughout the day.

The much-awaited protest programme passed off peacefully by noon, and the GNLf supremo, Mr. Subhas Ghising, who looked relaxed, remarked, "Now the doors are open for reviving the statehood demand." He also did not appear to be unduly concerned about the mounting pressure from his opponents, mainly the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], that he should quit as the council's chairman as the GNLf had rejected the Act under which the council has been formed.

Mr. Ghising also chose to keep aloof from the burning of the Act. Even as his supporters were making a bonfire of the Act, the GNLf president spent about three hours from noon supervising the breaking of a massive boulder by the side of Gandhi Road just below the council headquarters at Lal Kothi.

Talking to newsmen at the council headquarters, Mr. Ghising said, "The council is lame—it is redundant because of the defective Act. But I will continue to drag it as we have nothing to lose. It is their (the state government's) property and not ours." Making a dig at the state government, he said, "The government wanted us to work according to the Act which is basically against the concept of autonomy. So we have acted as per the Act by closing down the departments." (The government is yet to officially transfer the departments wound up by Mr. Ghising last month).

Although he claimed that he spoke to the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, regarding the language question

during his visit to the capital during the National Integration Council meeting last weekend, he categorically stated that he would not go to Calcutta for any negotiations with the state government. "I had told the chief secretary, Mr. N. Krishnamurthy last week that either he or any other senior official should come to Darjeeling to sort out the problems. But the state government does not look serious about ending the impasse."

The GNLF president was evasive when newsmen asked him about his party's course of action and when he would launch the actual movement. "You will know when the time comes. Then I will order my men to go into direct confrontation with the government," he said.

The GNLF took the administration as well as the people by surprise by changing the time and venue of the protest.

As the programme ended without any untoward incident, the administration and the people heaved a sigh of relief. For the past few days the hills were buzzing with rumours about the possibility of the GNLF calling a month-long strike followed by an armed movement.

The district superintendent of police, Mr. Vagesh Mishra, described the situation as normal and added that no incident of violence was reported.

Stronger Nationalism Said Remedy To Regional Conflicts

92AS1433D Varanasi AJ in Hindi 29 Jul 92 p 10

[Article by I.P.S. Yadav: "The Problem of Regionalism and Its Solution"]

[Text] One major issue in present Indian politics is the problem of regionalism. Regionalism has become a challenge to our national unity. We did get rid of British rule, but we are still slaves to a narrow regional mentality. Only after we rid ourselves of the shallow and narrow mentality of regionalism can India be truly independent. The situation is contrary to it and most of the nation is affected by the regional emotions, be they based on region, specific population, language, or religion. The birth of Pakistan, following the 1940 Lahore convention and the partition of 1947, sowed the seeds of regionalism in India. Other smaller states also expressed the desire to remain independent in 1947, resulting in the feeling for regionalism.

After independence, the demand for Andhra Pradesh over the Telugu language and the formation of the new state encouraged regionalism. As a result, India's map was greatly changed. Madras got a new name, Tamil Nadu; Bombay and Punjab states were divided; and the states of Nagaland and Meghalaya were created. Until now, the regionalism policy was limited to reorganizing states, however, the demand for Khalistan is demonstrating the real face of regionalism.

India is not a country in itself; it is like a human body, which is composed of small and large parts. If these parts are separated from the body then it loses its identity.

Similarly, India is composed of states. It was created by their unity and without them it will not exist. The establishment of separate state flags is analogous to hurting one's own body parts. It is a mistake to follow the narrow policy of separation on the basis of region, language, caste, or faction.

Our modern history shows unity of various groups. Our struggle for freedom was not limited to a religion or a faction; it encompassed people of all religions and groups. We became independent from the world's greatest power, Britain, because of the strength created by the unity of various groups, and raised the flag of independent India. Now independent India needs national unity more than ever. There is strength in unity as well as in our nation's greatness and glory. The fire of regionalism is making us lose our way, and we can reach our destination by following the right path. We will have to rise above the feeling of regionalism to reach it. The problem is how can we rise above it?

First, the failsafe medicine for the sickness of regionalism is the formation of a national character. The people should be made aware through liberal education. We have to use healthy literature to develop a national character of quality. It should have the ability to expand our soul, intelligence, and mental capabilities. Cultural programs encouraging nationalism should be given priority. In order to develop goodwill and fresh mentality among the people we must encourage healthy nationalism through radio, television, newspapers, and the stage.

If we have strong nationalist feelings, foreign powers cannot divert us no matter how hard they try. No power hungry leader will be able to reach his goal using caste or religion. We need to provide the same kind of training to our citizens as is given to the soldiers to develop feelings for the nation under which they sacrifice their lives for the country.

Second, recognizing regional political parties is encouraging regional emotions. It has become imperative to ban regional parties for the sake of a glorious future of our nation. We need legislation to end the multiparty system in India, keeping only two or three strong parties. In the beginning this could cause a new problem, but this will help uproot regionalism. Hindi has been made the national language and we must try to implement it. India is a secular country and it should be totally neutral about religious issues. The leaning of religion toward politics helps us understand the need for this reform.

It is true that the citizens should have a right to religion. In order to remove the narrow mentality of Indian states, the relations between the Center and the states should be formed in such a way that they are not dissatisfied and also understand the need for a strong central government. The Center, in turn, must be aware of the importance of the states' cooperation. If we pay attention to these matters, we can control regionalism to some extent and protect a united India to realize the dreams Gandhi and Nehru had.

Foundations of Janata Dal Seen Rapidly Crumbling

92AS1433C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 29 Jul 92 p 10

[Article by Sukant Chatterjee: "Janata Dal Is Whirlpool Of Misunderstanding"]

[Text] During the last two decades, several middle-of-the-road political parties or groups have emerged as the result of political chaos, uncertainty, and social unrest. Despite these middle of the way parties and the turmoil they caused, the Congress (I) is still controlling national politics.

The Congress (I) government's emergency rule in 1975 precipitated the polarization of centrist politics in which left-wing and socialist groups agreed to join on a common platform. The Janata Party, which was born as the result of this action, was more interested in establishing a government than laying the foundation stone of a political system. The impending results were out within three years and the left-wing ideologues left and established a separate political identity.

At the end of the 1980's those centrists who had left the Congress Party and the scattered Socialists reunited to form the Janata Dal, which was led by some former Congress leaders, Chandra Shekhar, V.P. Singh, Rama Krishna Hegde, Devi Lal, Biju Patnayak, among others. The Socialists also joined them, but were not able to provide stability to this party.

The formation of the Janata Dal, just like the Janata Party, was a political necessity and it also suffered from uncertainties suspicions, and complications. Unbridled ambition is a characteristic of the leaders of centrist parties. Ambition added to ideological immaturity always leads to failure. The Janata Dal is no exception. The Jan Morcha formed under V.P. Singh, Hemvatinandan Bahuguna's Lok Dal, Ajit Singh's Lok Dal, and Chandra Shekhar and Rama Krishna Hedge's Janata Dal, all suffered from suspicions and disarray and continue to do so. The Janata Dal, which began to crumble after 11 months in the government, is still disintegrating.

The Janata Dal was formed during a special political situation to provide an alternative political leadership. The problem with an alternative arrangement is that it has its own problems that stop it from stabilizing. As soon as the Janata Dal left the government, it disintegrated with the same speed with which it was formed. Chandra Shekhar, Devi Lal, and Mulayam Singh Yadav formed a separate party, which is lying alone now because of internal strife and its leaders' ambitions. Another era was led by Ajit Singh and his followers. These were the results of the prevailing dissension and political ambitions within the Janata Dal.

Mr. Chimanbhai Mehta, the Rajya Sabha member and former cabinet member who was recently expelled from the Janata Dal, accused the Janata Dal leadership of some misdeeds which are basically related to the Party's lack of direction and ambition. According to Mr. Mehta, expulsion of Dal's members one by one indicates nervousness of

the leaders and the revolt of these members against them. At the same time, a faction of the leadership is using undemocratic ways to attain some of its goals.

The fact is that Janata Dal implemented inconsistent policies. Also, various leaders sing different tunes on every issue; for example, Orissa's chief minister, Biju Patnayak, who has made many statements contradicting Janata Dal policies, in addition to knocking at the doors of the Supreme Court opposing the Mandal Commission recommendation on civil service regulations.

The Janata Dal leadership seems to have shrunk to V.P. Singh, Lalu Yadav, Ramvilas Paswan, and Sharad Yadav. Therefore, all policy decisions are made without full involvement. Rejection of G.G. Swail's nomination for president by most Janata Dal leaders is an example of this tendency, and there is no dearth of such examples. Sharad Yadav, Janata Dal's secretary general, considers the confusion within the party a part of this development.

How long will the Janata Dal and such centrist parties with their confusions and ambitions remain on India's political horizon? Only time will tell.

Rao Addresses Lok Sabha in No-Confidence Debate

Summary of Speech

92AS1388A Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Jul 92 p 6

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 July: The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao said today that the prospects of foreign investment in India were very encouraging and efforts were being made to increase the Eighth Plan allocation for rural development from Rupees [Rs] 30,000 crores to Rs. 50,000 crores.

Replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the no-confidence motion in his Council of Ministers moved by Mr. Jaswant Singh (BJP) [Bharatiya Janata Party] the Prime Minister said a change was being made in the infrastructural investment sector and greater emphasis was being given to the development of human resources and rural sector.

The Planning Commission had allocated only Rs 14,000 crores for rural development during the Eighth Plan period, but this was recently increased to Rs 30,000 crores, he said.

The Prime Minister said this year India was able to attract foreign equity of \$900 million compared to an annual average of \$100 million during the last few years.

Referring to his foreign visits, from Germany to Japan, the Prime Minister said the investment possibilities were very encouraging despite limitations of some countries. In Japan, many investors called on him and offered investments, Mr. Narasimha Rao said.

"The amount of confidence in investing in India is growing and we can assume that there will be more investment decisions in favour of India," he said.

A team which was sent abroad for negotiating investment for power projects was able to bring in offers worth Rs 15,000 crores, he said. The necessary paper work was completed and clearance would not be delayed, he said.

These steps were the only way to help the entire country instead of sections of the population, the Prime Minister said. The rural masses were deprived of development of quite sometime and this should be changed. The new steps taken by the Government would help reduce the gap between the urban and rural people and encourage human resource development.

The rural development programmes would also help discourage the migration to urban areas, he said. That was why the Government gave priority to massive augmentation of outlays for rural development in the Eighth Plan, he said.

Difficult legacy: The economic situation inherited by his Government represented a difficult era, the Prime Minister said. There was a recessionary trend all over the world during the last two or three years. The dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the systematic changes in Eastern Europe required investment of a massive magnitude in those areas. So, India had to compete with them for getting investment and it had succeeded in attracting a good deal of attention, he said.

Describing the liberalisation of the economy as a milestone, the Prime Minister said it had started bringing in dividends. India was planning massive investments from inside and outside in the sectors of power, hydrocarbon and telecommunications. In the power sector 21 major projects were being processed and all were likely to be cleared, he said.

The plans in the telecommunication sector were expected to double the capacity of switching equipment, he said. Two oil refineries had been cleared, one in the eastern area and the other in the west.

He said proper linkage was being attempted to ensure that the benefits of rural development programmes reached the real beneficiaries. He recalled his visits to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where there were complaints about tardy implementation of the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY). Now the JRY had been linked with the public distribution system in 1,711 blocks where wages would be paid partly in kind.

During the last one year, the Prime Minister recalled that there were no major incidents of killings, blindings and rape cases in the country. The Government could promptly attend to almost all the problems, he claimed. Development processes were given emphasis and tension was kept at a low profile, he added.

Mr. Rao said the internal investment picture was also equally encouraging, with nearly 6,000 investment decisions taken this year which was twice the figure last year.

All this would enable the Government to release more money for social and development programmes "carrying for funds," he said.

The Prime Minister said the Government would not reduce the higher allotments being made to the 1,700-odd

blocks under the revamped public distribution system. He said these higher allotments were partly responsible for the lower stocks position cited by some members.

Assam situation better: Referring to the Assam problem, Mr. Rao said he was hopeful of having a meaningful dialogue with the "whole of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)" in the near future, noting that one group was in favour of talks and the other against.

He said the situation in the State was a lot better than two years ago. Considerable progress had also been made in the implementation of the Assam accord, he said, referring to the foundation stones laid recently by him for an oil refinery, an Indian Institute of Technology and a railway gauge conversion project as part of the economic development programme for the State.

Mr. Rao declared that the Centre was taking all possible steps to create conducive conditions for the holding of elections in Jammu and Kashmir at the earliest.

He said the Kashmir issue was an example of the "egg and chicken" situation because elections could not be held until normality returned and conditions could not become normal if elections were not held.

On Punjab, the Prime Minister said he was for implementing the Rajiv- Longowal accord "in its totality."

He said he never talked of any package deal for the State. "We are assiduously following discussions and examining" different suggestions to solve the issue. The Punjab Government, he said, was not acting "just Congress," but "assiduously guarding" the State's interests.

No U-turn in foreign policy: Mr. Rao denied that his Government had made a U-turn in foreign policy. "I continue to be nonaligned. We do not change (policies) at the behest of others," he added.

The Prime Minister acknowledged that the non-aligned movement's [NAM] response to the changing world situation was "slowed down" by the developments in Yugoslavia. But he added that India was assisting the NAM chairman, Indonesia to finalise a new policy statement.

The Prime Minister said the Government was quick to establish diplomatic and bilateral relations with the republics of the former Soviet Union. The Central Asian republics also had assured him that they would not like to go fundamentalistic in religious matters.

About the joint naval exercise with the United States, he said India should go in for such things if they were useful. Mr. Rao said relations with neighbouring countries had improved.

The Prime Minister said Pakistan was and would continue to be "our Neighbour." "We have to treat Pakistan with friendship, tolerance and firmness."

He said it was difficult to measure the outcome of his meetings with the Pakistan Prime Minister. "Different signals come, but we have to continue the dialogue," he added.

Mr. Rao pointed out that every Pakistan Prime Minister had his limitations (in dealing with India). He said that State-sponsored terrorism by Pakistan was a fact and acknowledged by more and more countries.

Bofors case will be pursued: Referring to the Bofors issue, Mr. Rao said the Central Bureau of Investigation [CBI] had questioned former External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki about the lawyer who had handed over to him a letter for the Swiss authorities.

Mr. Solanki had said he was still not in a position to identify the persons, and hence the CBI was unable to investigate the antecedents of the lawyer, Mr. Rao said.

Mr. Rao said the government was determined to pursue the Bofors case.

He said the Geneva cantonal court was expected to announce its decision on the frozen Swiss bank accounts next month. Once the names of the account holders were known, the CBI would be able to take further action in the matter, Mr. Rao said.

Until the names of those involved in the payoffs were known, the Government could not move further in this regard, he said.

On the bank scam, the Prime Minister said the Finance Minister had already given a detailed report. The Government had taken note of everything right from the beginning and steps had been taken culminating in the setting up of a joint parliamentary committee (JPC) to inquire into the scam. "As of today this is the situation on the issue," he said.

Mr. George Fernandes (JD) [Janata Dal] intervened to ask that since the Prime Minister was in charge of the Central Bureau of Investigation, whether he would look into the observation of the Bombay Special Court judge that the CBI was shielding the real culprits in the scam, bringing scapegoats into the front.

To this, the Prime Minister said "I take full note of it and will ask the CBI."

Mr. Jaswant Singh (BJP) who moved the motion of no-confidence pressed it for voting. It was negated by 267 votes to 215.

New 'Anti-Congressism'

92AS1388B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 18 Jul 92 p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal; boldface words as published.]

[Text] New Delhi, 17 July: There was no drama in the no-confidence motion against the Narasimha Rao—Government—neither in its outcome nor at any stage in the three-day debate that ended today on an insipid note. That the motion would be lost was not in doubt but the manner in which the discussion, barring a few exceptions, fell flat was a surprise. The overall tameness proved highly infectious—even the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, could not escape it during his one-hour defence of the Government's policies and activities.

However, he and his Government had had the satisfaction that the motion, marking the first formal challenge to them, was rejected by a decisive margin in the Lok Sabha.

The treasury side was backed by its traditional allies like the AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra

Kazhagam], but the two members of the Muslim League who normally voted with the Government in the past abstained to register their protest against the Prime Minister's stand on Ayodhya. Its other supporters included the breakaway groups of the Telugu Desam and the Janata Dal. The ruling party perhaps also had the benefit of a helpful stand by some in the Jharkand Mukti Morcha and the Shiva Sena.

Though the motion was sponsored by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the National Front and the Left parties voted for it. The last two groupings had weighed the pros and cons of appearing on the same side of the political fence as the BJP and saw no harm in it. This was an important crossing of a psychological barrier.

New priority: From now onward the opposition parties, despite their sharp contradictions, will not be apologetic in making a common cause against the Government. The anti-Congressism will have a new priority in their political agenda. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, and his groups too supported the motion. Four Janata Dal members were not seen in the House at the time of voting. One of them, Mr. Abdul Ghaffor, was ill but the cause of the absence of the other three, including Mr. Hari Kishore, party spokesman, was not known.

The voting figures—267 against the motion, 215 for and 10 abstentions—gave a lead of 52 to the Government. It is a shot in the arm of what, in essence, is a minority Government.

Equally important was the confidence exhibited by the Congress (I) in the face of the Opposition challenge. It contrasted sharply with the tension and uncertainty in the ruling establishment at the beginning of the budget session of Parliament. The Opposition had then forced a test of strength on the Government through a division on the motion of thanks to the President. The Janata Dal and the Telugu Desam were in tact and the party positions had not crystallized. The ruling party was outnumbered despite the support of its known allies. In sheer desperation, it counted on the BJP for not creating a serious problem for the Government. Those were the days of unannounced arrangement between the Congress (I) and the BJP.

Sikh Students' Group a Political Party

92AS1378A New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English 9 Jul 92 p 3

[Text] Chandigarh: The All India Sikh Students Federation president (AISSF), Manjit Singh, announced here on Wednesday that after unity among its various factions, the AISSF would operate as a political party.

Manjit Singh, who has been released recently from detention under the TADA [Terrorism and Disruptive Activities], said the unity was his first priority and all office bearers of his faction had handed over their resignations to facilitate it. "The AISSF will take political initiative after the unity," he said at a news conference. Several leaders of the Federation, including Major Jagjit Singh, Mr. Sarabjit Singh Sohal, Mr. Balwinder Singh Khojkipur and Dr. Junaid Khan were present.

The Mehta-Chawla, the Bittu, the Butter and the Presidium factions of the Federation have already been dissolved to facilitate the unity. But Manjit Singh did not say that he, too, has wound up the faction led by him. When urged to reply to the question on whether he would follow other factions in demolishing the unit's identity, he said as the unity efforts were succeeding, he would only say that office bearers of his AISSF had resigned. He also declined to comment on the demand of the AISSF led by Daljit Singh Bittu, a known militant group associated with the Panthic Committee, that the United Federation should not participate in the elections conducted under the Indian Constitution.

Rao To Oversee Top Foreign Service Appointments

92AS1377A New Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
9 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by Arati R. Jerath]

[Text] In a significant step, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has asked that all administrative matters concerning the Indian Foreign Service (A) be referred to him.

The Prime Minister will thus oversee all appointments and transfers of Class I officers within the Ministry of External Affairs as well as in the missions abroad.

The order, which was issued on Monday, also directed that all papers relating to policy matters concerning the neighbouring countries and the members of the United Nations Security Council be sent to him.

With this, Mr. Rao has formalised his role as External Affairs Minister, indicating his intention to take a more active interest in the affairs of the Ministry. Till now, he was functioning on an ad hoc basis after assuming charge of the Foreign Office following the resignation of Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki in April this year.

In fact, after Mr. Solanki quit, Mr. Rao had left administrative matters to the Minister of State, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, content to oversee only major policy decisions in much the same way he was doing when the Foreign Office had a full-fledged Cabinet Minister heading it.

Although the assumption of new responsibilities by the Prime Minister has come in black and white only this week, the indications were already there, starting with some unconventional decisions on ambassadorial postings which have created a stir in the Foreign Office.

These include the appointment of Mr. Ronnen Sen as Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Prakash Shah to Japan and Mr. P.K. Singh to Israel. All three officers have been shifted from their present postings in just one year—Mr. Sen from Mexico, Mr. Shah from Geneva and Mr. Singh from Greece—although normal tenures in outside missions are for three years.

In addition, Mr. Sen is the most junior officer ever appointed to Moscow which has traditionally been given to political appointees of the like of D.P. Dhar and I.K.

Gujral. An officer of the 1966 batch of the IFS [Indian Foreign Service], Mr. Sen is also more junior than the Ambassadors due to take up positions in the other CIS countries and is even three years junior to the number two man in the Moscow Embassy.

While these appointments have raised several eyebrows within the Ministry, it also grudgingly admitted that the Prime Minister's decision cannot be faulted on merit. Certainly, none of the officers can be accused of trying to escape from "bad" postings to "cushier" jobs.

In the wake of Mr. Rao's step this week to assume administrative control of the Ministry, at least at the Class I level, the earlier decisions are now being seen as an attempt to streamline postings in the Ministry by marginalising deadwood.

With his domestic policy, particularly the economic liberalisation and matters relating to Punjab and Kashmir, heavily linked to his foreign policy, especially relations with the United States, Pakistan and China, the Prime Minister is obviously keen to run the External Affairs Ministry more directly now to ensure results.

In the new dispensation he has worked out for the Foreign Office, he has handed over the all-important charge of the neighbourhood to the new Minister of State, Mr. R.L. Bhatia. While all policy decisions on the neighbouring countries will still be handled by the Prime Minister, Mr. Bhatia will take care of day-to-day matters concerning this sensitive area and is likely to be consulted by Mr. Rao.

Mr. Bhatia will also handle East Europe, West Asia and the Gulf which gives him charge of the potentially volatile regions of vital strategic interest to India.

Mr. Faleiro will look after the Americas, West Europe, East Asia and Africa.

Gandhi Family Friend Found Linked to Bofors

92AS1376A New Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
10 Jul 92 p 1

[Article by Chitra Subramaniam]

[Text] Ottavio Quattrochi, an Italian national is linked to at least one of the accounts into which Bofors paid the illegal commissions for the howitzer gun deal with India.

This Geneva account, frozen along with several others in 1990, has money running over Rs [Rupees] 15 crore. One Stockholm-based source connected with the Bofors negotiations has put this figure at around Rs 18 crore while another source said money in the account was more than three crore but did not exceed Rs 21 crore.

Since the account was already frozen with the first lot in 1990, the source said it was probably not in the Union Bank of Switzerland into which the A.E. Services—Colbar investments (the payoffs linked to Rajiv Gandhi) money went.

According to Swiss procedure, Quattrochi could have got his account unfrozen if there was no Bofors connection.

Several months of investigations by the INDIAN EXPRESS have traced Quattrochi's links to the frozen account through a society based in Panama. This same society/entity, according to Swedish sources, also represents Quattrochi in banks in Switzerland. Sources in several European cities, including Stockholm and Karlskoga (Bofors headquarters), and Panama say Quattrochi could have other accounts/assets in Geneva some of which may be frozen since 1990 when the V.P. Singh government first sought Swiss assistance in the matter.

Quattrochi, a New Delhi and Italy-based representative of the Italian multinational Snamprogetti is an old and close friend of the Gandhi family. His name as a possible conduit for the kickbacks surfaced in Sweden at about the same time as the scandal itself in April 1987.

The Geneva Cantonal Court is currently seized of the Bofors case. It is expected to decide shortly whether or not to admit the Indian request for assistance in tracing the real beneficiaries of the kickbacks. At least six accounts have been frozen as part of the investigation.

Coming only a few months after an anonymous management-level sources from Nobel Industries told the Swedish daily DAGENS NYHETER that A.E. Services' money was destined from Rajiv Gandhi (an assertion that was never contested by anyone), information about Quattrochi's links to the payoffs is what one Swedish source calls "the smoking gun that has eluded detection till now."

While documentary evidence has already established the links between the payoffs and the Hinduja as well as former Bofors agent Win Chadha, Quattrochi's involvement raises the stakes considerably for a chain of individuals in India and Sweden and explains the massive cover-up that was mounted in both countries to bury the truth.

The most damning reference to Quattrochi was discovered in 1987-88 itself when during a search and seizure operation, Swedish investigators stumbled upon diaries and notes of Martin Ardbo, former Bofors Executive and Chief negotiator with India.

During a conversation with Robert Bob Wilson, the British national fronting for A.E. Services, Ardbo said he did not care about consequences for N, but Q's involvement was a problem because of his closeness to R. When interrogated by the police on these, Ardbo simply said he was being made a scapegoat to protect powerful people. Investigators had then taken the letters to stand for Arun Nehru, Ottavio Quattrochi and Rajiv Gandhi. Ardbo did not comment on this.

Preceding this note was a diary entry made by Ardbo where he referred to a meeting that Bob Wilson had had with a Gandhi trustee lawyer. And in yet another tell-tale jotting while preparing for a cover-up session with the Hinduja in London in October 1987, Ardbo wrote down

certain questions troubling him. One of them was—what happens if police get to know the accounts.

This was at a time when there was a very live threat of the Swedish investigators busting the Geneva accounts. "Now you know why Ardbo was so nervous—such a massive cover-up involving two governments would not have been engineered simply to protect known middlemen," a source remarked adding that most of the hard evidence was available in Geneva itself.

It may be recalled that Bofors paid \$7.3 million to A.E. Services in 1986 for the howitzer contract. Swedish investigators had identified this as political payment because A.E. Services came into the deal at the penultimate stage when all the figures were on the table, cut into Win Chadha's entitlement and contractually assured Bofors that it would get the deal failing which the company was not required to be paid.

A.E. Services' contract is also the most detailed and complete suggesting a fair amount of professionalism. And while the other recipients of the payoffs have only a veil of a code name or a company between them and identification, A.E. Services is carefully constructed to avoid easy detection and is littered with false leads.

Within Bofors itself, the documented evidence of the payoffs stops at A.E. Services. The company was paid in a Zurich bank and those documents show that money was immediately transferred to another account in Geneva.

While the relationship between the Geneva account linked to Quattrochi and the A.E. Services-Colbar trail is unclear yet, the nature of the deposit defended by the Italian studied along with Ardbo's notes and jottings suggest that an investigation into a direct link or possibly through Colbar might be very fruitful. When Colbar was first discovered in the autumn of 1990 sources in Sweden and Switzerland had suggested a search in Panama.

While it is not known what interaction—if any—Quattrochi through his lawyers has had with the investigative process in Switzerland, sources in Sweden say he could have got accounts linked to him unfrozen if he had no connection with the deal. Some others accused have exercised this right.

"The only logical explanation can be that he may not have been able to explain how he got certain deposits, if not from Bofors," one source said. According to Swiss procedure in criminal matters, when an account is frozen, the affected parties are invited by the process to explain their innocence if that be the case.

People in the periphery of the Bofors negotiations in Sweden have now started ferreting out information because they feel that the scandal will not go away till all the names and connections are known. With Quattrochi's name linked to the Geneva account, the end of the Indian story at least, say these people, may only be a matter of time.

Efforts To Build Temple Recounted, Analyzed

Victory for BJP

92AS1443A Bombay THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA in English 31 Jul 92 pp 2-5

[Article by Dibang: "The Temple Brigade Wins"; quotation marks, italicized words as published]

[Text] In an attempt to appear a legitimate political party that lives on the right side of the law, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] has withdrawn both the Bajrang Dal and the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] from construction work at Ram Janam Bhoomi. Today, it is the sadhus and saints who hold centrestage. And as work progresses at a brisk pace, the UP [Uttar Pradesh] government merely expresses its inability to contain the exuberance of the inviolate kar sevaks.

Three years ago, the BJP made what seemed like a rash promise to its electorate. In a bizarre turn of events, it seems the promise may finally come true. Dibang examines.

In the drama unfolding at Ayodhya, the sadhus and saints—whose role so far can be compared to that of bit players—have pushed aside the vocal and militant members of the Bajrang Dal and the Bharatiya Janata Party, to occupy centrestage and attract the spotlight. They are now playing a major part in the construction of the Ram Janam Bhoomi temple. However, they are being guided by the leaders who are hiding in the wings; their ultimate ambition is a temple at the site of the disputed Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid. And after the shilanyas next to the disputed structure on November 11, 1989, a Ram temple at Ayodhya does not seem impossible. But there is little doubt that the BJP will use them as a shield in any confrontation with the Centre.

That is why the senior leaders of the BJP are trying to differentiate between the state government and the VHP. While, on one hand, they refer to Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singh's assurances at the National Integration Council meeting—that all efforts would be made for an amicable solution to the problem, and, pending a final solution, the state government would ensure the safety of the disputed structure and uphold the decision of the courts—on the other hand, they point out that the VHP saints are in no mood to listen to anyone and that their sole aim is to stay on at Ayodhya till the temple is built. Rubbing their hands in glee, the BJP leaders further divulge their plan. "If the court asks us to suspend construction, we will say that in the prevailing tense and charged situation, it will not be possible to use force to remove the saints and will suggest that the government wait till they vacate the area on their own."

Asked about the chances of the use of force in Ayodhya, Syed Shahabuddin says, "There is a possibility of a conflict in Ayodhya which might lead to some loss of life and any loss of life is deplorable and should be avoided. But, sometimes, small losses have to be suffered for a bigger cause. In my view, even if the BJP and the VHP agree, there might still be small groups of militants who will be heroic enough to stage a resistance and, for that, force has

to be used. Now, the force must be minimal and perfectly graduated but the state must be prepared to use force if the situation warrants it."

On the other hand, the VHP leaders draw a distinction between the VHP and the BJP. It is particularly sharp over the issue of compliance of the court orders. As VHP leader Vishnu Hari Dalmia points out, "We do not care about the court rulings. We are not at all concerned with them—the matter is between the courts and the state government. For us, it is a matter of the faith of lakhs of Hindus. And that is why we will build the temple. For us, the courts do not exist. We have experienced that there is no judiciary in India. Do you think people have faith in courts?" Reacting sharply to Dalmia's statement, Salauddin Owaisi of the Babri Masjid Action Committee said, "If they don't agree to what the courts have to say and if they do not abide by the Constitution, then they should be sent to some mental asylum."

The Janata Dal is the only party so far to have organised a dharna and rallies against the present round of constructions and the BJP subterfuge. Its leader Sharad Yadav says of the BJP, "This party excels in doublespeak. Its militant wings will condemn the Constitution and the judiciary. And since the BJP has to be in Parliament, it will try to talk of upholding the directives of the court."

The court order has certainly perturbed the BJP. So, to avoid any further censuring by the courts, the Uttar Pradesh government is considering giving up the 2.77 acres around the disputed structure which it had acquired earlier this year. This could be achieved if the state government does not react to the petitions challenging the acquisition. Since the major chunk of the acquired land belonged to the VHP, it would be their responsibility to stick to the court orders. Expectedly, the VHP men are full of praise for the state government. Says Acharya Giriraj Kishore, "The state government has been unambiguous and clear in all it has done for the construction of the temple. The chief minister told us that he would remove all the legal hurdles in our way and he has done so. The state government realises that it has the clear mandate of the people to build the temple."

Once the state government expresses its inability to prevent the illegal construction by the VHP, the central government will be left with two options. One is to dismiss the state government; the other is to use central force to clear up the site. The BJP leaders feel that the party would enhance its electoral chances if it could don the mantle of a martyr. The second option—the use of central force—may prompt the BJP-RSS-VHP [Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya Swayam-sevak Sangh-Vishwa Hindu Parishad] to instigate the saints to a bloody confrontation. BJP sources also point out that it may backfire as the state Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) is largely in favour of the Ram temple. Also, the killing of sadhus and saints could lead to large-scale violence all over the country. "We are told that the BJP will create communal disturbances all over the country as if the civilised existence in our country depends on the pleasure of the BJP; that they can instigate civil disorder and communal riots and get away with it. Is the government so helpless? I don't buy that," remarks Shahabuddin.

So, the seemingly foolproof gameplan of the BJP-RSS-VHP provides for unhampered illegal construction activity at the disputed site. It is said that the BJP and the

VHP had chalked out the plan in April-May itself. However, there were some reservations in a section of the BJP over launching such a large-scale operation at that stage. It was felt that the party would not get any direct political mileage out of it. At the same time, the party which came to power in the state on the slogan '*sabko dekha baar baar humko bhi dekho ek baar*' has performed so miserably that it needed some dramatic acting to check the decline of its credibility. The VHP backers were also getting restive as, despite having the state government in their pocket, they were unable to do anything concrete in Ayodhya. Another compulsion, it is pointed out, was that the controversial godman Chandraswami, considered to be close to the prime minister, was making strong attempts to wean away the VHP on the promise of the construction of the temple.

In a recent statement in the Lok Sabha, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao said that he was not averse to the construction of a Ram temple at Ayodhya but reiterated that the government would not allow the Babri Masjid to be demolished. Reacting to it, Dalmia told the WEEKLY, "Right now we are building the singha dwar. Then we will complete the nritya griha and the sabha griha. After that, we will temporarily shift Ramlalla's statue to the new building and will ask the Muslims to remove the structure. If they don't, we will have to remove it. There is no question of our agreeing to leave the so-called disputed structure as it is. In our map, the garbh griha (sanctum sanctorum) of the proposed temple will be where the structure is. There will be no change in our plan." A senior Congress minister says, "We will not let anyone destroy the disputed structure. If anyone dares to do so, we will be absolutely merciless. We will protect it at any cost. It would mean the beginning of the end of the rule of law."

"The whole world is watching how this government handles the Babri Masjid issue. I think it is high time the government took action," Owaisi says. Congressmen are still weighing the various options but most of them agree that this time the prime minister has a tough task at hand. In the Union cabinet, it is said that Arjun Singh, M. L. Fotedar, Ghulam Nabi Azad and C. K. Jaffer Sharief are for tough action including the dismissal of the state government. Expressing the impatience that prevails in the party, a member said, "We have lost so badly in the North and now, by our inaction, we are finishing all the chances of improving our position. Unless we improve, we will be a minority government. We should immediately sack the Kalyan Singh government."

A senior congressman, N.K.P. Salve, suggests, "I am of the view that we should not use the power under Article 365. The UP government must not be ousted. If you do it, we will not be able to eradicate the root cause of communal politics. It will come up again in six months. The remedy for it is that the mandir-masjid and the area around it should be acquired as a work of high archaeological value. Then, the acquired land should be entrusted to any secular Hindu organisation. We should rid ourselves of militant organisations like the VHP." But the acquisition of the land by the central government will remove the buffer presented by the UP government and it would bring the

central government in direct confrontation with the VHP and the sants, a responsibility which the central government would like to avoid.

Rao is playing his cards close to his chest. One of his senior cabinet colleagues says, "The prime minister does not take any decision in haste. It is a very serious issue and I think Rao will take his time before finally deciding on something. A lot of partymen have demanded that the UP government be sacked but they are not mindful of the various political situations that might arise out of such a move. For example, if the Muslims are completely weaned away from the Janata Dal, what happens if the BJP and the Janata Dal again join hands as in the presidential election? Will they not become all-powerful? How will we counter that? That is why the prime minister will wait and watch right now."

Visibly happy at the discomfiture of the prime minister. Dalmia suggests, "The prime minister should realise that Hindus have awakened and he should allow us to do our work peacefully. We are secular Hindus and he should join us instead of looking towards communal Hindus like V.P. Singh and Mulayam Singh."

About the future course of action Sharad Yadav says, "The government should act immediately to protect the law of the land. So far, they are just 'observing' the situation. The time has come to act. Whether they want to dissolve the state assembly or acquire the land, that is for them to decide. If they don't do anything, we will launch a mass agitation."

The overwhelming feeling among the Congress members is expressed by a senior cabinet minister, "The prime minister is politically extremely prudent and farsighted, and that is why he is not rushing in to take any action. He does not want to make a political capital out of it. So far he has been able to push the BJP into a corner and that has helped him to build public opinion. He has already taken note of the delaying tactics of the BJP and that is why he made a pointed reference to how the BJP government could not send the court notice to Ayodhya due to the breakdown of their fax machine. The pressure will mount further at the NIC meeting."

However, firebrand BJP MP [member of Parliament] Uma Bharati says, "The construction is a triumph for us and now no one will be able to stop us. We got a mandate to build the temple and we are going ahead and building it." To which Shahabuddin retorts, "Triumph? They are in a jam. The BJP does not know how to dismount the tiger."

Includes Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains

92AS1443B Bombay THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA in English 31 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by Saibal Dasgupta: "Saffron Upsurge"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Saibal Dasgupta watched as the platform for the 'singha dwar' inched closer to the disputed shrine in Ayodhya, while a few kilometres away, participants in a muslim protest march quietly sneaked away.

Astride a white horse the warrior in saffron made his way through a milling crowd of kar sevaks. The sadhu, like all the others, had a container of concrete in hand. No one thought the sadhu's way of kar seva was strange. Neither did anyone stop to marvel at his quick rise—from election manager to the local MP's [member of Parliament] body-guard and finally, to the saffron order.

A middle-aged woman from Gujarat stood in the slush. A few farm hands who had been granted paid leave by their employer to join the kar seva, looked askance at the bustle in front of what some call the Babri Masjid and others refer to as the Ram Janam Bhoomi. What's not in a name...?

The scent of rain-soaked earth mingled with the smell of ghee being burnt in the two yagnas taking place as part of the 60-day sarvadev anushthan (worship of all gods) in tents put up by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] to the left of the disputed structure. One of them was a Jain rite.

Besides half a dozen Hindu sects, Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists were also represented in the joint effort to seek the blessings of all gods for building an abode for one of them. The RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] is well on the way to imposing its idea of a Hindu world which includes the Jains, the Sikhs and the Buddhists—while members of all other faiths are aliens. No wonder Christians, Muslims and Parsees have not been invited to the sarvadev anushthan.

But religious activity was limited to only three of the dozen tents. The others were vacant, except for the knick-knacks of rituals. A lone granthi with a flowing beard read the holy book in the quietude of the tent allotted to the Sikhs. A dog dozed on one of the iron-and-net chairs in the empty 'press room' created within the pandal.

Half a dozen earth-movers swung through the large plot next to the disputed shrine in a mirthless merry-go-round, levelling and re-levelling the land that was a hillock till the other day. The hillock provided some logistic protection to the shrine and thus became the first target of the "grave-diggers" as VHP men are called by members of the Babri Masjid Action Committee.

The tin-plated canopy that had sheltered the shilanyas site and weathered many a stormy controversy in its time now lay upside down, abandoned. The VHP-BJP had raised a hullabaloo when the then chief minister, Mulayam Singh Yadav, had the saffron-coloured canopy removed: in fact, he had personally presided over its removal as an expression of political contempt early last year.

Hired labourers fed sackfuls of pebbles and cement into the mixing machines. The churned-out mix was picked up by the kar sevaks who carried them on their heads to the rectangular plot, 132 by 80 feet, in front of the disputed shrine, where a six-foot platform was being laid. Confusion reigned over the area, kar sevaks jostling through the crowds with their headloads.

That was before khaki-clad RSS boy scouts had taken charge of the operation and restored a semblance of order. After all, the shakhas have been inculcating discipline and organisational stability for the day when a Hindu rashtra,

would dawn, and this was a beginning. That there were no more than a twentieth of the one lakh kar sevaks that Ashok Singhal had hoped to attract did not matter.

What mattered was the feverish commitment to building the Ram mandir among those who had made it to Ayodhya from different parts of Uttar Pradesh, mostly the neighbouring districts of Deoria, Bahraich, Gonda and Sultanpur. The South Indians, the Bengalis, the Punjabis and the Haryanvis were no where to be seen, except for a few stray tourists who visit Ayodha in normal times as well.

Everytime there seemed to be a danger of a lull settling into the kar seva, something happened to pep it up. The home minister, S.V. Chavan, did his bit by gracing the shrine with a retinue of civil servants from Delhi on July 12. Just the kind of resistance the VHP was looking for to enrage the Ram bhakts and enliven the show in Ayodhya.

July 15: It was late afternoon and kar sevaks were about to call it a day. That is, the handful of them who worked four or five hours at a stretch. Most, however, did no more than pick up their load of concrete as a symbolic contribution to the cause.

The work-day at the disputed area was about to close when someone came rushing in with the news that the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad high court had ordered a stop to the construction work. A hundred pairs of ears took in the news with utter disbelief. After all, the very same high court had refused to entertain a plea to stop the earth-digging work the day before.

Some sadhus who usually loll on gaddis in their maths and mandirs came rushing to the site in jeeps, Marutis, Ambassadors and Tatamobiles. One of them, a crippled sadhu, came in a specially designed three-wheeler. An impromptu meeting took place. The meeting broke up in 15 minutes and a volley of slogans, "Jai Sri Ram" shot skywards. Lord Ram must have smiled benignly as work resumed full-blast.

Work went on the next day and the day after as the platform, now three feet high, inched closer to the barricaded shrine. The platform will form the floor for the singha dwar (lion gate) and nritya grih (dancing hall), the first two parts of the proposed temple that will lead the way to the sanctum sanctorum of the disputed shrine.

Some six kms away, about a thousand Muslims assembled at the idgah in Faizabad. Prayers took place, followed by speeches on the need to preserve jamuriath (democracy) which was being threatened by the BJP government turning a deaf ear to the court directive. "Laws are not meant for one community. They are meant for all," the assemblage was told.

While a part of the assemblage seemed all set for a fight, there were others who feared police lathis. The leaders met newsmen, ensured their names were jotted down in the reporters' notebooks, and attributed the thin crowd to the heavy downpour. "But then the rains have not affected the kar sevaks," a BJP-supporting reporter interjected for the benefit of his colleagues.

The local unit of the Babri Masjid Action Committee had announced a programme to march to Ayodhya and force an end to the kar seva. At 1 pm, the crowd reluctantly stepped out of the mosque. Around 3 pm, all of them joined the march. Many, the bearded and fierce-looking types included, sneaked away. At the final count, a furlong away, when the police stopped and arrested them, there were only 447 of them.

Mosque Symbol of Slavery

92AS1443C Bombay THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA 31 Jul 92 p 5

[Acharya Bamdev Interviewed by Saibal Dasgupta: "Erase Symbols of Slavery"; boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Babri Masjid is one of them, says Acharya Bamdev, the president of the All India Sant Samiti [AISS], which played a major role in awakening Hinduism out of its complacency. Saibal Dasgupta talks to the ascetic-turned-revivalist.

For four long decades, a saffron-clad tramp lived by the Ganges in Varanasi, reading and re-reading the ancient texts and teaching his disciples the charms of being a Hindu.

It was in 1986 that his kundalini awoke, so to say. The ascetic shot off copies of a leaflet listing his ideas of how to check the rot that, he felt, had set into the great Hindu civilisation. To 54,000 addresses across the country. His ideas exploded on the Kumbh Mela in Hardwar that year.

The Bharat Sadhu Samaj did not seem to be doing its bit; the samaj had come to be regarded as an appendage of the Congress: it often espoused the Congress cause and led it out of tight corners, so went the charge.

A new organisation was needed. And thus was born the All India Sant Samiti at a meeting in New Delhi. Acharya Bamdev, now 75, who had ignited the new fire in sadhuhdom, became its president. Within a short span of its formation, the samiti became the largest organisation of the saffron order and came to play a big role in the Hindu revivalism sparked off by the Ram Janam Bhoomi movement. And yet, the ascetic has remained in the shadows while Vishwa Hindu Parishad and BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leaders bask in the floodlights.

When I entered his room, the Acharya—he prefers being called a teacher rather than a mahant or religious head—was taking his evening meals. He was naked except for a loincloth. A disciple brought him food in a large steel bowl from which he ate. The meal ended with a couple of mangoes. He then got up, put a saffron cloth around himself and sat down on a cot. I sat along with one of his disciples on a darri on the floor. Excerpts from the interview.

What prompted you to change your lifestyle and take to the path of activism?

There came a stage in my ascetic life when I felt that our civilisation was in for doom if the national spirit was not

inculcated in our youth urgently. I decided to act. My first move, as you know, was to circulate my ideas.

What precisely are the dangers to Indian nationhood?

We should revert to the use of the name 'Bharat' or 'Hindustan'. The name India is a sign of our slavery, our defeat by an alien king.

Dangers? Why, there are many. For instance, the Hindu community is shrinking in comparison to the minorities. I want the family planning measures to be implemented equitably so that this land of ved, vedant and rishis is not swamped by the believers of some alien religion, a religion which did not grow on this soil.

How does one go about setting things right?

You must remember that I look at this country as a civilisation. It should not be allowed to go the way of other great civilisations like the Roman one. To begin with, we must wipe out the symbols of our past slavery. The Babri Masjid is one such symbol. There is one road in Agra called Aurangzeb road. I don't mind roads and buildings being named after great Muslim leaders. But why the name of a tyrant like Aurangzeb? Why not that of the great poet Abdul Rehman Khankhana or some of the great Muslims who have sacrificed their lives in the freedom struggle?

Take our national anthem. The 'Jana gana mana' was written by Rabindranath Tagore to receive the king of England whom he described as 'Bharata bhagya vidhata'. It should be replaced with 'Vande mataram' which was on the lips of every freedom fighter before 1947.

Don't you fear that the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] will impose its own brand of Hinduism and destroy its multi-faceted character if the BJP keeps succeeding and attains power in Delhi?

I do not think that would be possible. None can rob Hinduism of its inherent freedom of thought. But I am taking precautions as well. I have initiated discussions and debates among the sadhu community.

What do you think of the role of the media?

The media's ideas of secularism are western in origin. Even the Hindi press has been taken in by the alien ideas. Take the word 'dharma nirpekshata' which is used for secularism in the Hindi newspapers. This word goes against the interests of the Hindus. After all, we all live in the Hindu civilisation. Most of the believers of other faiths are converts from Hinduism during the last few generations. Since the whole civilisation is Hindu, there can be no question of discrimination on the grounds of religion.

The word should be 'panth nirpekshata'. This word was suggested by a committee of lexicographers appointed by the former prime minister, Morarji Desai.

In fact, the thinking in the media and the country at large must change. We should never forget that we are a product of the Hindu civilisation.

Text of Rao Statement on the Ayodhya Dispute
92AS1465A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Jul 92 p 5

[Text] Following is text of the statement by the Prime Minister regarding Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute.

The Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute has been agitating the minds of all those who believe in the values of secularism and governance based upon constitutional principles during the last few weeks, the developments at Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid complex have been unfolding rapidly. The order of the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court dated July 15 was a water-shed in the series of recent developments. The High Court, in its interim order, restrained the parties from undertaking or continuing any construction activity on the 2.77 acres of land which had been notified by the Government of Uttar Pradesh for acquisition. The Court also directed that if it was necessary to do any construction on the land, prior permission from the court would be obtained.

While the Government of Uttar Pradesh repeatedly assured the Government of India as also the National Integration Council that they would undertake to have the orders of the High Court implemented, the construction activity at the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid complex continued.

The non-implementation of the High Court orders created misgivings among the people. This matter came up for consideration before the Supreme Court in a writ petition. During the hearing of the petition on July 22, 1992, the Supreme Court called for suspension of the construction work of any kind on the acquired land.

In a further affidavit filed by the Government of Uttar Pradesh in the Supreme Court on July 23, 1992, the government unconditionally undertook to obey the orders passed by the Supreme Court and by the Allahabad High Court. It was further mentioned in the affidavit that the suggestions made by the Supreme Court at the time of the hearing on July 22, 1992 had given a new dimension to the negotiations which had been going on between the State Government and the religious leaders. The Government of Uttar Pradesh assured the Supreme Court that the State Government was using all means at its command to ensure that an agreement is reached by all parties concerned so that the orders of the court are effectively implemented. The affidavit, inter-alia, referred to the invitation given by me to the leaders of the religious groups to meet me for discussion on July 23, 1992.

In the light of the submissions made by the Government of Uttar Pradesh, the Supreme Court adjourned the hearing of the petition to Monday, July 27, 1992. The Supreme Court said, inter-alia, that exploring a solution to this problem is in the larger national interest.

I am sure all the right thinking people will share the concern of the Central Government to find an amicable solution to the problem. The Central Government believes that all avenues of amicable settlement must be sincerely explored in the first instance. Our effort, therefore, has

been to defuse the situation, avoid a confrontationist approach, and to bring about reconciliation of views of various concerned parties. While doing so, we have been acutely conscious of the importance of upholding the dignity of the judiciary and respect for the rule of law. It was on this basis that we had repeatedly urged the Government of Uttar Pradesh and all other concerned parties to abide by the directions of the court, both in letter and spirit, and not to do anything which will undermine the basic principles of the Constitution.

As was stated in the Congress manifesto, we are committed to finding a negotiated settlement of this issue which fully respects the sentiments of both communities involved. If such a settlement cannot be reached, all parties must respect the order and verdict of the court. The Congress is for the construction of the temple without dismantling the mosque.

It was the responsibility of the Government of Uttar Pradesh to ensure that the orders of the court are implemented and the construction activity on the acquired land is stopped.

However, the situation was allowed to escalate to a point where the state government expressed its inability to do anything and in fact requested that either the Home Minister or I should persuade the sants and mahants to stop the work.

In view of the critical situation which had come about at Ayodhya, I had a meeting with the religious leaders on July 23, 1992. During the discussion, I drew the attention of the delegation to the serious situation created by the non-compliance of the court orders by the Government of Uttar Pradesh. I also informed the delegation that I would be in a position to begin the process of dialogue only after the construction activity comes to a halt.

Finally, I requested the religious leaders to see that the work is stopped so that efforts to solve the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute etc. could thereafter be proceeded with, in a time-bound manner.

I also told them that once the work is stopped, I would revive the efforts initiated by the previous governments that had remained unfinished, plus the preliminary soundings I have been making for some time past. The purpose of this exercise is to bring about an amicable settlement through negotiations. In case it becomes necessary, the litigation pending in various courts on the subject could be consolidated and considered by one judicial authority, whose decision will be binding on all parties.

This would require a fairly elaborate exercise at Government level and appropriate submissions to the courts for their consideration. I expressed my belief that this exercise at government level could be expedited and completed within four months time. I found agreement on this approach.

The construction activity on the acquired land at the Ram Janma Bhoomi-Babri Masjid complex is reported to have ceased on July 26. I hope this will pave the way for arriving at an agreed solution of the problem and bring about an

amicable settlement of this long-standing issue. I therefore appeal to all political parties and all sections of the people to help in strengthening the traditional values of religious tolerance and in maintaining peace, tranquillity and communal harmony.

Muslim Version of RSS Surfaces in Kerala

92AS1466A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
25 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by G. C. Shekhar]

[Text] Thiruvananthapuram, July 24: "Poonthura" in Malayalam means jetty of flowers though nobody seems to know how it got its name. But this picturesque suburb of Thiruvananthapuram lives up to its beautiful name in other ways—winding lanes, swaying palms, and thatched tiled houses that have the Arabian Sea at their backyards—the perfect setting for a peaceful life.

But not any more. For two days on July 19 and 20, the texture of peaceful coexistence that Poonthura was famous for, was torn apart by one of the worse communal conflagrations witnessed in Kerala. The low casualty rate of six dead and 50 injured may give the impression of an understated local problem blown out of proportion, but the destruction of property and seeds of mistrust that have been sown point to larger and more dangerous portents.

Though the Muslims and the Hindus, who have lived here for decades, easily blame the other side, the provocations is most certainly the distant rumblings from Ayodhya. But unlike the other Ayodhya-sparked communal riots where it is the Muslim who bears the brunt in most cases, in Poonthura, it is the poor Hindu fisherfolk, the Dheevara, who are the victims.

The pattern is clearly discernible since the Muslim houses remain virtually untouched while those of the fisherfolk have been completely gutted. And in every case, the destruction is complete, with no half baked jobs, as the marauders, according to the police and eyewitnesses, had the entire forenoon of July 19 to carry out their looting and arson.

The Muslims say that an RSS [Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh] shakha that had held its meeting in a nearby ground ventured out on a Sunday morning on the Kovalam Highway, as if staging a flag-march, which provoked the Muslim youths to retaliate. The other side accuses the nascent Islamic Sevak Sangh (ISS), a militant, fundamentalist Muslim outfit, of attacking the RSS during its meeting. But if it was just a spontaneous confrontation, then it should have been over with the arrival of the police.

But the ISS seems to have come with a well planned agenda, as its cadres entered the Dheevars locality prepared with torches and other weapons and attacked the occupants, chased them out of their houses and set their houses on fire. "We had no chance to protect ourselves. We could only run for our lives as we were outnumbered," said Mukundan, whose family earns its living by spinning ropes out of coconut fibres.

"It was no spontaneous outburst, it had all the ingredients of a planned attack," commented a senior officer of the Kerala police.

What surprised the police was the free use of petrol bombs, gelatine-made explosives and phosphorous bombs on both their sides. "This is a totally new dimension to riots in Kerala—the advent of explosives," observed the deputy commissioner of police. So much so, when the DGP [director general of police], Mr Subramaniam, reached the spot, he was greeted with a crude petrol bomb.

It took the police more than six hours of patrolling and occasional firing, in which two persons, apart from the two fishermen killed in the initial stage of the riot, to quell the fighting. But as Poonthura came under control, trouble spread to nearby areas.

With just 600 policemen to deal with the situation, the state government had no option but to summon the Army. Two persons were stabbed in broad daylight in the Fort area, taking the toll to six. "Panic was beginning to set in as it was becoming unsafe even during the day. Also, the police did not have a contingency plan to prevent the trouble from spreading," commented a senior police officer. It was only after the Army staged flag-marches and a special contingent of Tamil Nadu Police was summoned, that normalcy returned. However, it must be said to the credit of the people here that once the authorities took control of the situation, they too returned to their normal activities.

But the RSS, which has suffered a severe loss of face, is refusing to give up. In the name of drumming up relief, it is preparing the ground for a reprisal. But the revenge attack may be difficult now as the government, after displaying an appalling degree of indecisiveness, is prepared to meet any future attacks.

With the chief minister, Mr. K. Karunakaran, recuperating in a Washington hospital, the acting chief minister, Mr. C. V. Padmarajan, proved to be an ineffectual substitute as he commanded very little political authority. Already, the number two member in the Kerala Cabinet, Mr. Oomen Chandy, has revolted against Mr. Padmarajan's elevation by quitting as leader of the House. And with the Muslim League pulling the strings on one side and the covert understanding that Mr. Karunakaran had worked out with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] on the other hand, Mr. Padmarajan literally had to walk the razor's edge.

Even as communal passions have been doused for the moment, political gameplans are afoot to use the riots to weaken the Opposition. The anti-Karunakaran camp is blaming Mr. Padmarajan of not being competent enough to act as chief minister and is therefore pitching for Mr. Chandy. The administrative failure is also being used by Mr. Karunakaran's opponents to try and weaken the stranglehold of the chief minister's men, especially in the police.

The Muslim League, while wanting a crackdown on the RSS and the BJP in the state, is also exerting pressure on the police to rein in the ISS, which threatens to chip away

the League's hold on the Muslim population. The BJP on the other hand, wants succour to reach the victims at the earliest. The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], not to be left out, is accusing the Congress of political gamesmanship in encouraging both the BJP and the Muslim League, which, according to them is the root cause of the riots. And to cap it all, the UDF [United Democratic Front], and especially the Congress, is agog with rumours whether Mr. Karunakaran will return a fit man or would nominate his successor from the hospital bed.

Soon Poonthura would have been forgotten and Kerala's rules would be back indulging in their favourite obsession—politicking. And with Poonthura, its lessons too would fade away into the distant past.

Assam Rebels Praise Bangladesh Migrants

92AS1467A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
30 Jul 92 p 11

[Text] The Times of India News Service, Guwahati, July 29—Bangladeshi immigrants in Assam appear to have found an unusual sympathiser in ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] with the outlawed outfit describing them as a "hard-working group of people who had a major contribution to the productivity of Assam."

A 15-page policy document of ULFA, undated but made available to the press yesterday, has described the immigrants who had sought refuge in Assam for historical and economic reasons as an "inseparable part of life in Assam." The outfit has, however, opposed any further migration from Bangladesh.

The policy paper, addressed to "the settlers from East Bengal" (now Bangladesh), assumes significance because it has come at a time when the highly-volatile immigrants issue is being raked up again by politicians in the state.

What is particularly interesting about the document is that ULFA, long considered by many as a champion of Assamese chauvinism, has said that the driving force of its "struggle for a Sovereign Assam" was the united strength of all the ethnic groups in the state.

Chronicling the migration of people from East Bengal into Assam, the ULFA document pointed out that initially such migration was dictated by hunger, poverty and the need to find work. Later such migration was encouraged by politicians to suit their own vested interests, it said.

The settlers from East Bengal, who lived by their hard labour, had contributed enormously to the productivity of Assam and shown how high agricultural production could be achieved in small land-holdings. These "exploited" groups of people were better than the "Indian colonialists" who chose to suck Assam dry, ULFA noted.

The outfit, however, made it clear that it was against further immigration because it would be a strain on the state and would create social tensions. It would also be an impediment to their national liberation struggle, it said.

The ULFA stand runs counter to the anti-foreigner agitation launched by the All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) in the early 1980s. Interestingly, the ULFA document has termed the six-year-long AASU stir as "emotional" and having lacked political direction.

At the other end of the spectrum is the declaration by some influential minority leaders that all the talk about illegal migrants and the need to deport them was a ploy to "threaten and provoke" the minorities living in Assam.

ULFA's sympathy for the settlers is seen as an attempt by the outfit to spread its support base to all segments of the population. For the first time since its inception, the outfit has expounded a philosophy which recognises the right of "all ethnic groups to maintain their individual identities, languages and cultures" and their right to "self-determination."

World Bank Assesses Eighth Five-Year Plan*93AS1413A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
16 Jul 92 p 9*

[Article by Bharat Bhushan: "World Bank Comments on Plan Before Parliament Sees It"]

[Text] New Delhi—Even before the Eighth Five Year Plan document is shown to the Indian Parliament, the World Bank has been given access to it. In this country the document has been placed only before the National Development Council and its draft has not been finalised. But the World Bank not only has copies of the document but has even commented critically on it in detail in several internal documents.

These internal World Bank documents have been shared with the Planning Commission. Their copies were made available to the Secretary, Planning Commission in early June. It is not known whether the Commission will modify the Plan taking into account the World Bank's criticism.

The World Bank has described the methodology of the Plan as "disappointing." The Bank has also claimed that the Eighth Plan is unrealistic and overambitious, that it continues to pay allegiance to old shibboleths and that there is a mismatch between the text and the figures used in the Plan.

Paradoxes: Commenting on the subject of fiscal adjustment and the Eighth Plan, the World Bank has pointed out several paradoxes. It shows that while the Plan document talks of deregulation leading to a reduction in the regulatory and supervisory functions of the government, enabling it to contain the growth of expenditure on the administration, the numbers quoted actually show an increase from 12 percent to 12.2 percent. Similarly, while the Plan text talks of substantially rolling back subsidies as a proportion of the Gross Domestic Product [GDP], the numbers show a decline of only 0.5 percent. And while the document talks of a "concerted effort at containing the revenue expenditure of the government," the numbers show an increase in non-interest current expenditure.

The World Bank after analysing the various contradictory statements made in the Plan document about the capital expenditure of the government, has concluded that "It looks as if the implied cut in plan capital investment as proportion of GDP (perhaps by the states) has been sought to be covered up." It is of the view that "optimistic real growth projections, coupled with even more optimistic revenue projection, leading to desirable but not feasible expenditure targets, if they are taken seriously by any of the departments, could themselves become a factor that aggravates the problem of financial management." The Bank has criticised the Plan for projecting everything at constant prices and not incorporating inflation explicitly in the Plan.

In the field of agriculture, the World Bank has held that the Plan has "little in way of a new strategic focus to tackle the mounting problems (decreasing public investment, crisis in rural credit, distorted incentives, pervasive government

interventions in input and output markets, a looming (?) crisis in the public procurement and distribution system) in the sector."

Unrealistic: The Plan document, the Bank feels, has set targets in agricultural production which are unrealistic and overambitious given the past performance. Thus, for example, foodgrains are expected to grow at four percent per annum, a rate which has never been sustained for five years at a stretch in the past. In the post-Green revolution phase, foodgrains have increased at the rate of 2.5 percent per annum and at 2.8 percent per annum if the more recent period 1978-90 is used to estimate the trend.

Within foodgrains, the Bank points out that coarse grain production has been estimated to grow at a whopping 5.4 percent per annum over the next five years, when it has increased by less than one percent per annum in the past. Similarly, the implied annual growth rate for pulses, oilseeds and cotton are 4, 5.6 and 5.9 percents, respectively, while the per annum trend growth rate in each case has been lower at 2.1, 4.1 and 1.6 percent, respectively.

For wheat, a rate of growth of 3.3 percent per annum is target and although this is lower than what has been achieved in the past, the chances of achieving it in future, according to the Bank, appear slim given the vacillation that has occurred around the 50-55 mmt (million metric tonne) range in the past four years despite favourable weather conditions. The Bank points out that even though a current concern is that the area traditionally under wheat is being diverted to other crops, "the Plan blissfully projects a 0.75 million hectares (mha) increase in the wheat area over the next five years."

The input targets, too according to the World Bank, do not seem to be in consonance with the overall Plan targets. Thus, for example, fertilizer consumption is expected to go up from 13.5 mmt in 1991-92 to 18.3 mmt by the terminal year of the Plan (1996/97). This, the Bank admits, will be necessary if the proposed crop targets are to be achieved but wonders how this will be done. Given the resource constraints, the Bank is of the view that domestic production can not meet the additional needs. It concludes that imports then will have to meet the gap and they are likely to amount to at least 5 mmt per annum by 1996-96 [as published]—nearly double of the imports in the past few years. Then, according to the Bank, there would still be the question of subsidies. Would the government then subsidise the imports given the continuing fiscal and Balance of Payments pressures, it wonders.

Yet another instance of overly optimistic targets, the Bank points out, is in the case of area under high-yielding varieties. This area is targetted to increase by an additional 15.4 mha within the next five years. However, over the last five years, the addition has only been 6.4 mha despite, or even because of, four good monsoons in a row.

In the area of planning for the education sector, the Bank has criticised the Plan document for its "inadequacy and vagueness of the financial commitments required to realise targets" and especially for not providing any data on the quantum of additional infrastructural facilities required to

meet the aim of universal elementary education. The Bank feels that "a one-sided emphasis on reducing costs, particularly through the expansion of the non-formal sector to reach those who are currently not enrolled in school, has negative implications for both efficiency and equity. Without a commensurate stress on raising the effectiveness of the educational system, in terms of retention and achievement levels, these schemes are likely to result in more wastage of resources and continued provision of substandard services to the poor and the disadvantaged."

In the industrial sector, the World Bank has accused the Plan document of a continued allegiance to "past policy shibboleths" by encouraging regional dispersal of industries through growth centres in backward areas and encouraging R&D for assimilation, adaptation and improvement of imported technologies as well as the development of indigenous technologies. It has also pointed out that the Plan is "noticeably silent" on price control on drugs and pharmaceuticals and the exit policy in textiles.

Center Said To Underutilize Foreign Aid

92AS1373A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
29 Jun 92 p 5

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 June: The government has decided to make serious efforts to tap foreign aid in the pipeline as a way out of the current balance of payments crisis. Even if the efforts are partly successful, the situation will be considerably eased as the country has a poor record of utilisation of foreign aid. Because of this, literally thousands of crores worth of foreign aid that has been committed remains unused.

Had there been better utilisation of aid, not only would the foreign exchange reserves situation have been better because of the inflow of hard currency, but developmental projects would have been completed and thus improved the economy.

Unutilised foreign aid is piling up at an alarming level. The backlog of outstanding unutilised aid on government and non-government account was a high Rs [Rupees] 22,383 crores on 1 April, 1987. This almost doubled to Rs 40,444 crores within two years on 1 April 1989, which indicates that as much Rs 10,000 crores worth of aid that has been authorised by donor countries is not being utilised each year.

The slow pace of utilisation of aid is due to various reasons but bureaucratic delays are the main cause. These include time-consuming procedures governing procurement of stores and equipment, delays in land acquisition for construction work and domestic budgetary constraints in providing counterpart funds in rupees.

There are also delays between commitment of the aid and conclusion of specific loan of credit agreements. Officials admit there is undoubtedly a need as well as the scope for speeding up the aid utilisation process.

Commitment of foreign aid is not really a problem these days and it is mainly slow utilisation that is holding up the

use of the benefits of projects that it finances. Last year, for instance, the Aid India consortium of Western donor countries and Japan authorised as much as \$6.7 billion for 1990-91.

The main problem is that the aid is becoming more expensive since a substantial part of it comes from the World Bank. Nearly 70 percent of the aid from the bank comes from its main funding source which is more expensive than its soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA).

IDA loans are on such soft terms that they are virtual gifts since they involve a 40-year repayment period and a low-service charge. India's share of IDA soft loans used to be as much as 60 percent of total World Bank aid but this has now come down to 30 percent because of the decision to give more to African countries and China.

India's total share in total World Bank lending to all countries in fiscal 1989 was 13 percent in the case of the main bank and 18.2 percent in the case of IDA credits. An increase in these shares, along with an increase in the total loanable resources of the World Bank group, could be of considerable assistance in managing India's external finance in the coming years.

Agricultural Output in 1991-92 Shows Decline

92AS1379A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Jul 92 p 6

[Text] Bombay, 3 July (UNI): Agriculture production received a moderate setback in 1991-92 and industrial production registered a decline of 0.4 percent due to uneven southwest monsoon and poor performance of the manufacturing sector.

The foodgrains production is placed at 171.1 to 172.6 million tonnes, against the record production of 176.6 million last year and much lower than the targeted 182.5 million tonnes, according to the Reserve Bank of India's [RBI] review.

Industrial production suffered a setback right from the beginning of 1991-92 (against the backdrop of 8.5 percent growth, despite the Gulf War) and it registered a negative growth of 2.3 percent compared with 12.6 percent in the preceding last quarter.

Kharif foodgrains production is estimated at 94.1 million tonnes against 99.9 million tonnes last year, the decline being mainly due to fall in coarse cereals and rice because of aberrating in monsoon. Wheat production in the rabi season is likely to be slightly higher than 54.1 million tonnes registered in 1990-91.

Production of pulses was almost the same while in oilseeds, there was a shortfall of about 7 to 11 lakh tonnes. Groundnut received a setback due to poor rains in Gujarat. However, this was made good by increase in rapeseed and mustard seed.

Cotton showed a moderate improvement from 9.8 million bales to 10 million bales. Sugarcane, raw jute and mesta remained at the previous year's levels. However, demand and supply in respect of commercial crops was satisfactory.

Procurement of foodgrains by public sector agencies declined to 18.3 million tonnes, a shortfall of 23.4 percent, while the offtake of foodgrains mostly by the public distribution system (PDS) increased to 19 tonnes against 16.1 million tonnes as the differential between the PDS prices and open market prices widened.

Stocks of foodgrains with public agencies at the end of March 1992 at 12.1 million tonnes were much lower than 17.3 million tonnes, a year back. The stock of wheat were reduced to 2.3 million tonnes, overall, the stocks were lower than the stipulated norms.

The Indian Meteorological Department's forecast of a sluggish monsoon had promoted lowering the foodgrains production target tentatively at 183 million tonnes, 0.5 million tonnes higher than last year.

Stock Scam Money Stashed in Foreign Banks

92AS1372A Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Jul 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 19 July: A new dimension has been added to the multi-crore stock scam. Considerable sums of such money have been stashed away in banks abroad, principally in difficult-to-trace Swiss accounts.

Informed sources told THE HINDU that leads suggesting the smuggling of funds abroad had come from some notings discovered during the course of the investigations into what is being described as the "mother of all frauds."

The Government has entrusted the Enforcement Directorate with the task of establishing where exactly have these sums been deposited and the actual sums thereof. However, considering the fact that the Directorate is a near-toothless organisation which is unsure about its own future following the progressive dilution in the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), this decision has raised several eyebrows.

According to the sources, the task of tracing present whereabouts of these funds will not be an easy one. Only after the indications of banks and account numbers are available can the authorities act and ask for the freezing of these accounts. This will, necessarily, have to follow the practice in the Bofors case—where Swiss authorities have frozen accounts in which kickbacks paid by the howitzer manufacturer were deposited.

In the meantime, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) team probing the scandal has registered a total of eight First Information Reports, in which the names of a total of 43 accused figure.

The total extent of the fraud—as is understood by the investigations so far—is to the tune of Rs [Rupees] 3,971 crores, involving eight banks/financial services. The cases were registered between 29 June and 13 July.

The eight FIRs [first information reports] filed relate to the following banks with the fraud amounts in each case being—State Bank of India (Rs. 669 crores), UCO Bank [expansion not given] (Rs. 90 crores), Standard Chartered Bank (Rs. 1,240 crores), Canbank Mutual Fund (Rs. 104 crores), Canbank Financial Services (Rs. 374 crores), State Bank of Saurashtra (Rs. 175 crores), SBI [State Bank of India] Capital Markets Ltd. (Rs. 105 crores) and National Housing Bank (Rs. 1214 crores.)

According to the sources, in the cases of Standard Chartered, Canbank Mutual Fund and Canbank Financial Services, Bank Receipts (BRs) were issued by Bank of Karad and Metropolitan Cooperative Bank. The principal accused in these cases are Bhupen Dalal, Hiten Dalal, A.D. Narottam, T.B. Ruia and J.P. Gandhi. In the rest, the principal accused are Harshad Mehta and his associates.

The investigation has revealed that most of the BRs issued by the banks and utilised by the accused were not backed by securities while a few were forged. Instances of forging of some Subsidiary General Ledger (SGL) forms have also come to light.

At present, the CBI investigation team was engaged in the process of tracing hundreds of cheque transactions—from Bank "A" to Bank "B" and further. The attempt, the sources said, is to trace the cheque transactions to their "logical conclusion." There has been considerable mixing up and splitting up of funds, making the tracing of the "route" a difficult task.

One aspect being probed is how the banks allowed account payee cheques to be deposited in the accounts of individuals. According to what the banks have told the investigators, this action was part of an established "market practice." This issue was still being pursued, the sources maintained.

About the role played by officials of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), the sources said "administrative responsibility" lay at their door even if there was no criminal liability.

Developments in Defense Research Organ Noted

New Director

92AS1374A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Jul 92 p 1

[Text] Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, father of the Indian missile programme, was on Tuesday appointed as the new scientific adviser to the Defence Minister in place of Dr. V.S. Auranchalam, report agencies.

A Defence Ministry announcement said that Dr. Kalam would also concurrently hold the charge of secretary department of research and development and Director General DRDO [Defense Research Development Organization].

The Ministry said that Dr. V.S. Auranchalam would be proceeding on sabbatical leave for two years. It learnt that Dr. Auranchalam would be going for study leave to the United States where he has been offered a prestigious fellowship.

Self-Sufficiency Advocate

92AS1374B New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Jul 92 p 4

[Article by Cecil Victor; quotation marks as published]

[Text] When Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence Dr. V.S. Auranchalam leaves the Ministry after about a decade of incumbency with him will end, or ought to, an era of near-total dependence on licensed-production as a means of maintaining national security at an adequate level. Dr. Auranchalam, himself, has laid the foundation of a truly self-reliant growth of the Indian military-industrial complex but it will remain an enduring tragedy that the concept itself was perverted during his tenure.

His successor, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, brings to the office an experience that should become the lodestar of his tenure—that self-sufficiency in critical weapons systems will be sought to be denied to us and, therefore, to see that the conspiracy does not succeed. If anything, the semantic fog that we have ourselves created about the true intent and purpose of 'self-reliance' and 'self-sufficiency' ought to have become cleared by the very circumstances that we find ourselves in today with the preeminent world power trying to stop us from pursuing even the peaceful uses of high technology for national growth.

Dr. Kalam's personal pursuit of self-sufficiency in military missilery has become the target of the CIA's overt and covert operations—he has already felt the heat of an overt propaganda campaign that he has used foreign technology to design Indian missiles. But his experience must have brought home to him that making one of a kind of weapon system is not going to take the country out of the morass and that the 'integrated' approach to produce a 'family' of weapons, will. Also, that there is much merit in a 'mission approach' to creation of state-of-the-art weapons systems.

The experience of the past decade underscores the falsity of the contention that licensed-production of weapons system makes for 'self-reliance.' This is because at every stage from the conversion from completely knocked down kits to production from indigenous materials, the project is

determined by supplies from the home country and, increasingly, by foreign exchange considerations. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was for several decades, the main supplier of weapons systems to India, the problem is worse and will not be resolved by diversifying sources of supplies or developing our own field gun, we decided to go abroad to buy a 155 mm howitzer. The reason for this, later revealed by former Chief of Army Staff Gen. K. Sundarji, was that we had to make a choice of creating the new infrastructure and skilled manpower or buying the system off-the-shelf from abroad. The underlying *raison d'être* for this approach was that there is some urgency for including the particular type of gun in the Indian armoury.

The U.S. lobby in India, including top military brass, politicians, bureaucrats and sections of the Press, made it appear that the United States will give us what we want. The United States deliberately delayed a decision on the issue for nearly three years because Washington knew that if it supplied the howitzers, they could be used to disrupt forthcoming plans to delink chunks of territory in Jammu and Kashmir plans for which had been finalised by the triumvirate vitally interested in that portion of the world—the United States, Pakistan and China.

It took us four more years of negotiations with other western gun manufacturers before we selected the Swedish Bofors gun—a total of seven years, enough time to make that type of gun at home if there had been political will and the American lobby had not been so powerful. My point is that if we had the money to pay the Swedes for their gun, with a little foresight we could have spent it in creating our own infrastructure which could have enabled us to progress in making guns of different types and requirements within the country. This is particularly relevant in the context of reports that we are looking abroad, once again, for a self-propelled gun of large calibre. The real scandal in the Bofors case is not how much money did or did not change hands but how the nation's professed goal of 'self-reliance' and eventual 'self-sufficiency' was subverted by persons and groups that owed more to foreign interests than national goals.

That is where the concept of a 'family' of weapons comes in. It could, of course, be argued that an 'integrated' approach in producing missiles is easier than in other weapons systems and platforms. In guns, the basics are the same—metallurgy, explosives technology and ballistics. The same applies to aircraft. Making the light combat aircraft (LCA) is not the be-all and end-all of the existence of the Defence Research and Development Organisation of which the Scientific Adviser is the head. More than twenty years after the completion of an indigenous aircraft project (the Marut HF-24), we are about to buy an advanced jet trainer (AJT) from abroad and in the next 20 years we will have to think of replacing the MiG-21s, the MiG-23s and Jaguars which form the bulk of an IAF [Indian Air Force] fleet which is already composed almost entirely of foreign aircraft.

If there is talk of improving the Vijayanta tank by importing a foreign gun then doubts are raised about the

gun made for the main battle tank Arjun, the production of which is already many years overdue. The same applies to many other weapons systems and platforms. If the indigenous engine of the proposed MBT [main battle tank] is unable to produce the desired thrust then we would be stuck with a foreign engine (a fear expressed nearly eight years ago in these columns). The same will apply to the engine for the LCA if our metallurgy does not live up to promises to reduce the weight of the engine.

With the changing of the guards in DRDO [Defense Research Development Organization], a few things ought to be clarified. That since Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, already described as the father of the Indian missiles, is to be head of DRDO, it should logically follow that his efforts will be allowed to fructify in totality and that the Agni too will be made operational. Or, if it is to remain a 'technology demonstrator' then it should lead on to the creation of something of a greater capability (beyond intermediate range ballistic missile because it is in the longer ranges that the real danger is emerging). Steps should also be taken immediately to make the Indian engine for the MBT viable because in the final analysis it is engine technology that determines the weapon platform's capabilities and also triggers future incremental growth.

If we have not already learned anything from what has happened to the Indian Space Research Organisation [ISRO] (and the Atomic Energy Commission before that) then we will not learn anything about how the United States intends to manage the world. If we are going to depend on the United States (or anyone else) for our critical requirements then we may as well stop talking about 'self-reliance.'

Finally, just as criticism from foreign sources can be the goal to greater achievements, Dr. Kalam will have to beware of the type of excessive praise that have been heaped on certain individuals by the United States and the West. Praise is a political weapon, and it has been used over the years as an opiate for kings and statesmen destined for destruction (read Edward Luttwak who with others of his ilk have written paens on praise as a weapon of destabilisation).

In any event it should ring alarm bells in India if our main weapons producer is praised by a foreign power whose strategic interests are at variance with our own.

DRDO Claims Refuted

92AS1374C New Delhi *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
9 Jul 92 p 11

[Article by Pravin Sawhney; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi—The ten years from 1982 to 1992 of the Defence Research Development Organisation (DRDO) with Dr. V.S. Auranchalam at the helm can be summed up as lacking uniformity of excellence with the defence scientists and services working at cross-purposes. For this reason, the DRDO claim of 1980s being the decade of successful ab-initio design and development of medium and high-technology weaponry sounds specious.

While accolades are due in the fields of missiles technology, electronics and propellents, the DRDO has failed in material sciences. Most frontline projects are either nowhere near completion or initial specifications have been overtaken by fast-changing requirements of battlefield. This has resulted in widening gaps between the time-frame of these projects and its cumulative fundings, which in most cases has overshot the initial cost estimates.

Also neglected has been the ongoing requirement of technology improvement to graduate into the next generation weaponry. For instance, MILAN and SS-11 missiles technology were acquired from France, but never improved for laser technology. Soviet SAGEER missiles mounted on BMP (armour carriers), Karl-Gustaf, Cymbeline radars are more examples where DRDO should have, as natural futuristic process, gone into next generation weapon systems.

The most deplorable neglect area both by the DRDO and services general staff is probably the weaponry and equipment required in the northern mountainous areas and for internal security purposes. Ironically, when the army is fighting a war in Siachen, along the line of control in Kashmir (which constitutes the country's northern arc) and is combating insurgency, militancy, terrorism and even law and order in at least three border states, it is not fully equipped for the task, as the sights have traditionally been focussed since 70s on the Western sector.

For example, at Siachen, despite seven years of war, the DRDO has been unable to provide good heating arrangement to the troops. The heaters available to the soldiers are best suited at altitudes of 8,000 feet and not at 21,000 feet in Siachen. The DRDO project undertaken for waste disposal at Siachen has been closed without results.

Except in low-technology areas, weapon requirements for the mountainous north and western theater are different. This is because at high altitudes there are cold arrests of weapons and metal failures, requiring new compatible lubricants. Also necessary are lighter weapons for logistical reasons, which should provide heavier firepower. In this context the DRDO long delay to provide the family of 5.56 calibre small arms comprising of rifle, light machine gun and carbine to troops is a grave shortcoming. While the rifle is yet to undertake troop trials, the light machine gun is reported to be prone to defects and the carbine is still in prototype stage. In any case a piecemeal induction of the family will do more harm, as logistics will increase.

Among the heavier weapons, though the indigenous 105 light field gun, which replaced the tested 75/24 howitzer as lacking in shell weight, is deployed in the mountains, it is a badly produced gun. Good in firepower, the gun is more than frequently off-road for reasons of material failures. Similarly, little attention has been paid by the DRDO in providing anti-insurgency equipment to the forces, despite the fact that the army has been fighting insurgency in the north-east since 35 years. While "Shatrugnan," which is a light armoured vehicle built on a Tatra 610 chassis, has been designed by DRDO in collaboration with national

security guards, the production is meagre, resulting in all sorts of improvisations done by the para-military forces itself.

In the western sector, despite the political rhetoric in the country that Pakistan is hardly a threat, the policy evolved by the DRDO and general staff has borne minimal results for three reasons. First, the fact that in sub-continental realities even two generation old technology compared to the western countries is good enough, has been glossed over. For instance, the 130 mm gun will still perform admirably than the Bofors gun. The requirement, therefore, is not of new generation weapons, but such devices that can make the existing weapons qualified for day and night and all weather situations.

Second, there exists an irrepressible urge in the DRDO to take-on high profile project, which for initial political clearance, are placed at unrealistically low-funding and time frame. Cases in instance are the main battle tank, Arjun and the light combat aircraft, which now have been elevated from being services requirements to national prestige issues. The LCA [light combat aircraft] was started in 1983 with an initial funding of Rs [Rupees] 15 crore. Already Rs 860 crore having been spent, the aircraft is nowhere near prototype stage.

This DRDO showmanship is largely responsible for the impressive lists of statistics reeled out. According to DRDO reports, there are 45 ongoing staff projects costing over Rs 1 crore each, 74 projects costing between Rs 10 lakh to Rs 1 crore each and 35 projects valued at less than Rs 10 lakh each. There are 77 technology development projects costing over Rs 1 crore each and 171 project between Rs 1 crore and Rs 10 lakh. Staff projects are those which are developed with specific general staff requirements, while technology project are futuristic technological developments. The production value between 1981 to 1991 is Rs 2,400 crore against the DRDO budget which has remained around 3.5 percent of the defence budget, the 1991-92 figures being Rs 691 crore.

It is evident that most of these projects are either in low-technology areas or are import substitutions. Import substitutions refer to replicating import items without technology transfer. In both these areas, DRDO has done well. Yet, technology replication through technology transfer of frontline weapon systems has not been done. For instance, there is not a single major equipment of the services which is completely indigenous. And, in most ab-initio designed weapon systems, combat units which are more important than both the DRDO and general staff, as being the ultimate users, are thrust with equipment without specified user-trials. Failures listed in the sketch bear testimony to this sad fact and the realisation that the momentum phase of DRDO, where it can confidently present itself to the world, has yet not arrived.

Concern Over Auranchalam

92AS1374D Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
12 Jul 92 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi—The news of Dr. V.S. Auranchalam, till recently secretary in the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), proceeding on a two-year sabbatical to the United States has been received with trepidation by the scientist community.

Having been at the helm of affairs of DRDO for a decade and being privy to the country's defence secrets, the government's decision to grant him permission to leave for America (which was first disclosed by *INDIAN EXPRESS* and promptly denied by the Government) is a matter of grave concern, according to informed sources.

The other concern of the scientist lot is the infrastructure he leaves behind. While DRDO has little to show in terms of medium or high-technology defence products during Dr. Auranchalam's 10-year tenure, the organisation has grown enormously.

This has resulted in many more redundant laboratories packed with "Auranchalam's men." The immediate casualty has been the working ethos and morale of nearly 30,000 employees, including a majority of the 5,414 officers, according to inside sources.

While the number of labs grew from around 36 to 49 during Dr. Auranchalam's tenure, sources point out that new ones have pushed the older work-horses into the background and have little concrete results to show themselves.

Some of these are the artificial intelligence lab, the Aeronautical Development Agency (ADA), AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] lab and the technology park in Bangalore.

ADA, which is under Dr. Kota Harinarayan, is tasked with light combat aircraft (LCA), when the project director himself has little specialisation in this field to his credit.

A year ago, Dr. Kota told the press that FADEX, an important LCA component, was being indigenised in collaboration with U.S. Allied Signals.

However, during Defence Minister Sharad Pawar's recent visit to the United States, Dr. Auranchalam confirmed that the search for a U.S. collaborator for FADEX was still on.

A senior scientist at DRDO said the mushrooming of labs had resulted in "a base too wide, yet too thin, where instead of concentrating on select national priorities, the overall effort has been diffused."

The DRDO's poor working ethos and neglect borne by the defence services forces army chief Gen. S.F. Rodrigues in January 1991 to call for "redeployment of DRDO assets" and "institutionalised interface between army and research and development."

Although the research budget is around 3.5 percent of the defence budget, in terms of products, DRDO results have been best in areas of low technology, according to observers.

The concentration of powers in Dr. Auranchalam's hands, which unleashed favouritism and the formation of a coterie which controlled promotions of scientists, was achieved through the creation of the recruitment assessment cell (RAC) in 1985.

Till 1984, all promotions in DRDO were effected by the UPSC [Union Public Service Commission]. This was dispensed with in 1985 and the internal screening committee formed.

The 10 August 1990, gazette notification signed by Dr. Auranchalam specifies the internal screening committee shall evolve its "own criteria for deciding eligibility" and award "average marks for the scientists, while deciding eligibility of scientists for assessment."

This has been commented upon by insiders as an arbitrary and manipulative process. Moreover, unlike in the UPSC procedure, where results were announced immediately by the board, RAC is open to further manipulation as results take time to be declared.

Further, given the fact that Dr. Auranchalam wore three hats, being head of DRDO, scientific adviser to the Defence Minister and secretary, Government of India, he could influence all internal screening committees.

For instance, in the screening committee for scientist 'F', the two members are nominated by the scientific adviser. For the assessment board up to scientist 'F' level, the chairperson is nominated by RAC, who also appoints two departmental members.

In the highest promotion from scientist 'F' to 'G,' the scientific advisor himself is again the key member of the board.

It is largely the result of this in-house promotion haggling that scientists once rejected by UPSC have procured senior berths under the existing dispensation.

A case in point is Dr. K.G. Narayanan, scientist G, who was sidelined by UPSC, and now heads the prestigious Aeronautical Development Establishment and is also member of the LCA ADA lab.

Similarly, Dr. T.R. Sharma, advisor, life sciences laboratory (Bangalore), has had a meteoric rise in service. A middle-level food technologist by profession, he is reported to be spending more time in Delhi than in Bangalore.

This is nothing unusual, considering the fact that favourites of Dr. Auranchalam spend much time abroad, with minimal results to show, observed a senior DRDO officer.

In such a sycophancy-charged atmosphere, it will be an enormous task for Dr. Abdul Kalam to disengage politics from profession, which has seeped into DRDO over the years, according to insiders.

Pawar Notes Progress in Weapons Development

92AS1393A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
21 Jul 92 p 6

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi: The Indian army is prepared for the induction of the surface-to-surface 'Prithvi' missile and all preparations, including training phases have begun, Defence Minister Sharad Pawar, told the Rajya Sabha on Monday.

Answering queries from Mr. Mohinder Singh Lather and Mr. Digvijay Singh during question hour, Mr. Pawar also denied that major problems had threatened the optimal use of Prithvi.

The main battle tank (MBT) 'Arjun' is expected to be ready for bulk production after completion of trials in 1993, Mr. Pawar said.

Twelve prototypes, including two fully integrated prototypes of MBT Arjun, had been fabricated, the Minister told Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari and Mr. T.N. Chaturvedi in a written reply during question hour.

These tanks had undergone R&D-cum users trials for automotive and weapons system, he said. Two pre-production series tanks had also been manufactured by heavy vehicles factory, Avadi, for troop trials.

Extensive user-assisted trials had also been done on these tanks at Balasore and Suratgarh and the results were encouraging, he said.

The project 'MBT Arjun' was sanctioned originally in 1974 at a cost of Rs [Rupees] 15.50 crore, but the present sanctioned cost of the project stood at Rs 380.80 crore, Mr. Pawar said.

Changes in qualitative requirement by the army, requirement of the additional prototypes, additional requirement of pre-production series tanks and more realistic assessment of technical and user trials had led to the delay, he added.

The government had launched a number of welfare schemes for the widows of 1971 India-Pakistan war.

These schemes and facilities were also available to widows of the army personnel, killed during operations against the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] and militants in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab.

Giving details the Minister said that these widows were entitled for special family pension which provides three fourths of the basic pay for a period of seven years.

The widows were also entitled to gratuity and preferential admission to medical and professional colleges against reserved vacancies.

Concessions were also available in rail and Air fares. War widows could also avail themselves of loan facilities under the self employment scheme for ex-servicemen.

Progress in Combat Vehicle Development Noted
92AS1392A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
29 Jul 92 p 3

[Italicized words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] The target acquisition system for the "Nag" anti-tank missile (believed to be among the first of this type in the world) was successfully evaluated under demanding field conditions in the Rann of Kutch in recent weeks.

According to the *Astra*, the official organ of the Defence Research and Development Laboratory and Research Centre Imarat, the system consisting of a thermal sight (infra red), a "day sight" using a charge-coupled device and a laser range finder was developed indigenously by the DRDO's [Defense Research Development Organization] instrument research and development establishment at Dehra-Dun.

Astra states that the system which provides the "eyes" of the "Nag" missile system can detect tank targets at ranges exceeding five kilometres while it can recognise them up to five kilometres.

The system is being integrated into the "Nag" missile carrier vehicle and track trials of the weapon system with the missile and acquisition system are scheduled for the second half of 1992, according to *Astra*.

Meanwhile, a state-of-the-art armoured vehicle, manufactured at the Indian ordinance factories based on a DRDO-design is slated to form the carrier of three missiles in the Indian Guided Missile programme, according to *Astra*.

The Combat Vehicles Research and Development Establishment of the DRDO based at Avadi near Madras is the key design and development agency which has configured the basic infantry combat vehicle 'Sarath' and modified it as a missile carrying launcher for the Trishul (surface-to-air), Akash (surface-to-air) and Nag (anti-tank) missile systems.

The "Trishul Combat Vehicle" is the main fighting platform of the Trishul regiment and houses four ready-to-fire Trishul missiles, the Trishul Search and Track Radar and a host of connected electronic and computer systems.

The mobile command post is the nerve centre of the Trishul's command, control communications and intelligence and houses the main decision support system for the weapon.

For the Akash multi-target surface-to-air missile system the launcher and radar are housed on separate tracked platforms.

For the Nag anti-tank missile the system houses four ready-to-fire missiles and the target acquisition system. The missile module can be raised or lowered depending on the tactical situation to acquire tanks at extended ranges.

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